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ARSENALS
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Democratic Culture

A SOCIAL HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN PUBLIC LIBRARY
MOVEMENT IN NEW ENGLAND AND THE
MIDDLE STATES FROM 1850 TO 1900

By
SIDNEY DITZION

Foreword by
MERLE CURTI, University of Wisconsin

Chicago, 1947
AMERICAN LIBRARY ASSOCIATION

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To GRACE
and
To the New York Public Library
where I first met her

In our country's first year of war, we have seen the growing power of books as weapons. . . .

This is proper, for a war of ideas can no more be won without books than a naval war can be won without ships. Books, like ships, have the toughest armor, the longest cruising range, and mount the most powerful guns. I hope that all who write and publish and sell and administer books will . . . rededicate themselves to the single task of arming the mind and spirit of the American people with the strongest and most enduring weapons.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

Libraries are directly and immediately involved in the conflict which divides our world, and for two reasons; first, because they are essential to the functioning of a democratic society; second, because the contemporary conflict touches the integrity of scholarship, the freedom of the mind, and even the survival of culture, and libraries are the great tools of scholarship, the great repositories of culture, and the great symbols of the freedom of the mind.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

Literature in itself is but a trifling matter; and is merely valuable as being the armory in which the weapons of the human mind are laid up, and from which, when required, they can be quickly drawn.

BUCKLE.—History of Civilization in England

FOREWORD

DR. DITZION IS NOT, OF COURSE, THE FIRST HISTORIAN OF THE AMERICAN public library. But in his full-length study of the foundations and the building of our great public library movement we have for the first time a work conceived and executed in terms of modern scholarship in history and sociology. He has investigated an impressive body of hitherto unexplored materials widely scattered in many repositories and his generalizations rest on careful, competent, and sustained research. To this investigation and synthesis Dr. Ditzion has also brought the somewhat intangible but nevertheless highly important experience of the professional librarian. Thus his study takes on an added significance, for he has approached the material and the problems not only with the tools of the social scientist but with the practical understanding that comes of technical training. What is more, he has brought a good deal of social insight to his work.

Dr. Ditzion's book will interest the professional librarian who is eager to understand the rise and growth of the public library. One by one the professions have become historical-minded. Today the history of law, the history of medicine, public health, technology, and other professions is increasingly appreciated by those devoting their lives to these fields. It is a hopeful sign. No mariner would attempt to navigate without his logbook. From the trials and errors of one's predecessors it is possible to learn much of use and to deepen one's insight and kindle one's imagination.

But this story of the growth of the public library in America will also appeal to all students of American civilization. In the first place, the public library is one of the most characteristically American of our major cultural institutions. By consistently relating the career of the public library to prevailing and rising patterns of thought, conditions of living, and social needs, Dr. Ditzion has made an im-

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portant contribution to our knowledge of American civilization. No one should pretend to explain American cultural life without taking into account his findings.

Of the forces, ideological, economic, social, and cultural which largely account for the rise and development of the public library, Dr. Ditzion emphasizes urbanism (including civic pride), philanthropy, social control, and democracy. But he does not slight the values associated with cultural improvement, both individual and social. Nor does he fail to do justice to the individuals and voluntary groups that, for one reason or another, devoted time and energy in order that a public library might be available to their communities. The men and women who, sensitive to social forces and to cultural needs, helped develop the American public library, have in Dr. Ditzion's book another worthy monument to their efforts. Moreover, the division of functions in our society, marked by the rise of specialization and professional spirit, are given their proper weight.

This book will be read by librarians and students of American social and intellectual history not merely within the country itself. With the growing interest abroad in American civilization, we can be sure that this book will find a place in the collections of the cultural attachés in our legations and embassies, and that foreign librarians and students of American civilization will make good use of it in broadening and deepening their knowledge of one of the most distinctive and influential agencies of our cultural life.

MERLE CURTI
University of Wisconsin

PREFACE

THE WRITING OF AMERICAN PUBLIC LIBRARY HISTORY HAS FOLLOWED a developmental pattern which is fairly typical of the process undergone by the historical study of other social institutions. In the early phase of inquiry—which lasted until very recent years—library histories were devoted almost in their entirety to the celebration of great book collections, important librarians and library patrons, and to factual accounts of progress in library technics, services, organization and administration.

Only within the last decade has there developed a serious interest in studying the free library as the resultant of a complex of social ideas, conditions, and forces which led to its establishment and subsequently shaped its character. Although a few segments of this field have been touched upon and several plausible conjectures have been made, there exists as yet no thoroughgoing scholarly analysis which relates the nineteenth-century library movement to its social milieu. Here and there students have offered interesting hypotheses, but these have not been accompanied by significant historical evidence.

The present book attempts to fill a part of this gap in the literature of American social history. An intensive study has been made of the movement in New England and the Middle States during the latter half of the nineteenth century. This period* was chosen because it witnessed both the founding of the tax-supported municipal library and the growth of this institution to a point where its permanent place in the national life was assured. By limiting the study regionally a given group of sources was examined intensively. However, it seems altogether certain, as one views the pattern of library develop-

* Jesse H. Spera has recently completed his dissertation (University of Chicago, Graduate Library School, June 1944) on the *Foundations of the public library; the origins of the public library movement in New England, 1629-1855*. This is a detailed and well conceived study of the pre-public library period.

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ment in other parts of the country, that the motifs of library history elsewhere were much the same as in New England and the Middle States. In fact, much borrowing was done from the early experience of the Northeast.

Many books dealing with American social and cultural history were read to secure understanding of the environment in which the public library developed. Extensive use was made of such works although few are cited to support particular ideas and statements. Had Professor Curti's *The Growth of American Thought* been published before this work was prepared it would have occupied the most prominent position among these books. For it is to Professor Curti that I am immeasurably indebted for a preview of the encyclopedic treatment and excellent interpretations presented in his *Growth of American Thought*. He not only encouraged my interest in social and intellectual history, but also guided the formation of this study and gave me the untold benefits of his vast knowledge and critical ability.

I owe much to Professor Egbert M. Turner of the City College (N. Y.) for his interest and direction in the earliest days of my concern with library history, and to Professor George S. Counts of Teachers College, Columbia University for graciously consenting to sponsor this study. For reading the manuscript as a whole or in very large part, I make grateful acknowledgement to Professors Erling M. Hunt, Ida A. Jewett, and Edward H. Reisner of Teachers College, Columbia University, to Professor Robert S. Lynd of Columbia University, to Dr. Stephen A. McCarthy, Assistant Director of Libraries at Columbia University, and to Wharton Miller, Director of Libraries at Syracuse University. I am also indebted to many of my friends and colleagues at the City College for their help and suggestions. Professor Richard B. Morris of the History Department gave the manuscript a most thorough reading and made many valuable contributions toward its improvement. Dr. Sidney Pomerantz, of the same department, assisted me greatly in reshaping certain parts of the book. Last, but by no means least, I should like to say "Thank you" to the librarians, past and present, who preserved the materials out of which this book was built.

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Chapter 1. THE ANGLO-AMERICAN LIBRARY SCENE

ENGLISH WAYS MAY NOT ALWAYS HAVE BEEN IMMEDIATELY DISCERNIBLE in the aspects they assumed in the new world, but they were nevertheless strongly in evidence here, and only the ultranationalist or the Anglophobe would deny their presence.

America drew its cultural heritage from numerous nations on the European continent; but it was the British influence which dominated the shaping of its patterns of thought and agencies of cultural dissemination well into the nineteenth century. Every available vehicle played its part in the transit of civilization. Colonizers and immigrants had pulled up their roots from British soil and transplanted them to America. They not only brought their books with them but also continued to obtain books and magazines from the mother country for many a generation. There was rich correspondence among leaders in literature, science, religion and politics on both sides of the Atlantic. The voyagers too, possibly without full consciousness of their role, were carriers of social forms and ideas.

There was much conscious borrowing as well. Time and time again reference was made to the experience of the parent country when our citizenry was grappling with new and particularly acute problems in the adolescence of our society. Such calls for help were sent with increasing frequency as the processes of industrialization and urbanization created a more and more complex society. Several of our institutions of popular education such as the Lancastrian and Latin Grammar schools were vitally influenced by this kind of borrowing. How true was this of the libraries gathered in America to assist in the education of the people?¹

For more than two hundred years after the establishment of the

¹Superior numbers throughout the text refer to entries numbered by chapters in NOTES p. 216.

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first colonies, Americans looked enviously upon the great scholars' libraries in England and on the continent. Many individuals attempted to build private libraries but these rarely reached the size and pretentiousness of the famous European collections. England, to whom we went for a long time in search of imitable culture, kept its comfortable advantage of years, traditions, stability, wealth and family inheritance.

This advantage, however, did not exist in those library forms which were partly or wholly public with respect to financial support and clientele. When, at the end of the seventeenth century, Dr. Thomas Bray started his free lending libraries under the auspices of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, he opened them in the colonies as well as in the mother country. When, a generation later, proprietary and subscription libraries sprang up in the colonies, England could show its comparable book clubs and circulating libraries.

It is not clear from historical evidence whether or not Franklin and others in America borrowed their book-club ideas from the mother country. What is clear is that we achieved numerical superiority over England in those forms which were used by the broadest segments of the population. From the testimony presented in 1849 to the Select Committee (House of Commons) on Public Libraries, it would seem evident that our social libraries, school-district libraries, our mechanics' and mercantile institutions became far more integral a part of American popular culture than did their counterparts abroad.

This difference in the reception given to the public library idea and its embodiment in a variety of agencies is obviously attributable to the advanced state of literacy and popular education in America. The American workingmen, in whose behalf public libraries were urged frequently and strongly, had always benefited from far more schooling than had their brethren abroad. Their political privileges and duties in most of our states demanded the existence of agencies of popular culture in a more compelling way than did the social position of the English artisan and mechanic.

Environmental variations such as these were strongly reflected in the speeches and writings which promoted the cause of public libraries after 1850. The British movement met with strong opposition especially from the landowning groups. The American movement met with taxpayers' opposition only infrequently. The privi-

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leged in England feared popular education. Those in power in American society favored it. Even when the arguments were similar in the two countries their flavor varied. Thus the humanitarian in England often spoke as if he were raising a brute class to the level of civilization by establishing libraries. The American purveyors of uplift were generally egalitarian and thoroughly democratic in their approach.

Significantly, however, powerful support came from like quarters in both countries. American businessmen like Boston's Abbott Lawrence and New Bedford's Rotchs and Howlands were actively behind the public library. They supported it in the legislatures, contributed money for proposed and existing institutions, and donated books to growing libraries. On the other side of the Atlantic the wealthy William Ewart and the retired businessman, Joseph Brotherton, championed the cause in the House of Commons. These two representatives of a progressive, enlightened, growing middle class were also the authors and supporters of much reform legislation.

Again, when we consider the reciprocity of influences, it is impossible to determine intelligently who borrowed more from whom. Every vehicle of culture transmission was capable of borrowing and selling, as well as exchanging ideas. If the report of the Select Committee in England was reviewed in our periodicals for many to read and learn from, the hearings themselves contained many lessons from America itself. If our political, commercial, and cultural ambassadors to England learned much on their sojourns abroad, they also taught much. Of the numerous travelers from Britain who visited our public libraries, at least a few reported the democratic functioning and popular appeal of our institutions. Judging from the size, number, and influence of our free libraries and from the technics developed by our libraries to bring them closer to local populations, one can say that in the long run the British learned more from us than we did from them.

Moreover, as we examine the historical process closely and observe how American public libraries grew largely out of intracommunity relationships, the debate on international borrowing becomes less profitable. Our experience with public financing of libraries antedates the British hearings by so long a time span that credit for initiating tax support must unquestionably remain with us.

For above and beyond the somewhat unsuccessful experiment with school-district libraries begun in New York State in 1835, there were

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several examples of municipal free libraries sufficiently like our present ones to be their lineal ancestors. Although records of these early institutions are scarce, their mere propaganda value in stimulating the movement at mid-century and afterwards justifies their inclusion in any treatment of public library backgrounds. Citing these precedents of community unquestionably had a desirable effect.

Caleb Bingham, a Boston publisher and bookseller whose name is most closely associated with the *American Preceptor*, the *Columbian Orator*, and other educational Americana, created the first of these institutions, a children's library, in 1803. Bingham's claim to fame in this instance was established by a gift of one hundred and fifty books from his personal library to his native town, Salisbury, Connecticut. The town, however, deserves a greater honor for supplementing this donation with occasional grants from tax money. How long this library lasted is not known. It certainly was not in existence at mid-century since it does not appear in library lists and statistics published at that time.² Dr. Ebenezer Larned gave a similar library to West Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1835. The town supported it with annual appropriations until 1872 when the Arlington Public Library supplanted it.³

The one donation which more than any other was instrumental in getting the principle of tax support under way was that of Francis Wayland, then president of Brown University. The story of how this former Baptist minister precipitated the question of the legality of tax support for free libraries is well known. It was during the 1847 commencement proceedings at Brown University that President Wayland first told a friend of his intention to give five hundred dollars to the town of Wayland for a library provided the town matched his donation. The public library at Wayland went into operation on August 7, 1850, supported by an assessment optional with the individual taxpayer rather than by regular tax funds. Less than a year later the Massachusetts Legislature passed its law permitting towns to tax their inhabitants for the support of free libraries. This bill, by more than mere coincidence, was introduced into the legislature by the Reverend John B. Wight, representative from Wayland.⁴

The account of the establishment of a town library at Peterborough, New Hampshire, is unique in that here we have an instance of what appears to be the spontaneous generation of an entirely new form. Here, without the stimulus of private donation, without the permission of state legislation, without the semblance of

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a model in the mother country, a tax-supported town library was born.

The circumstances surrounding the creation of this institution raise an interesting historical question involving local circumstance and group motivation to which no answer has yet been offered. In January of 1833 a group of farmers and small manufacturers under the leadership of the Rev. Abiel Abbot formed a social library whose shares sold at two dollars and whose annual membership fee was fifty cents. On April 9 of the same year the town, apparently under the inspiration of the same Rev. Abbot, voted to set aside for the purchase of books a portion of the state bank tax which was distributed among New Hampshire towns for literary purposes. This was the way the first American town library to be continuously supported over a period of years was begun.

What arouses one's curiosity here is not that Dr. Abbot was connected with the organization of two competing institutions within a space of four months. For this Unitarian pastor, whose zeal for intellectual and moral improvement carried him through a multitude of other educational enterprises in Peterborough, could very well have been promoting both projects at one and the same time. What is surprising is that a group of influential taxpayers should not resist, so far as we know, the establishment of a public library which doubtless meant slow death for their own subscription institution. Then too, it is hard to explain why Peterborough should have been first in starting a publicly supported town library, and why it should have done so before the larger and more prosperous towns of New England. A speaker at the centenary celebration of the library speculated that "It was probably due in measure to the Scotch-Irish ambitions and the progressiveness of the more modern manufacturer, both imbued with the intellectual fire kindled by Dr. Abiel Abbot, that our town inaugurated this new principle in public ownership of intellectual stimuli."⁵

But the libraries at Salisbury, West Cambridge, Peterborough, and Wayland were all small-scale ventures and, left to themselves, would never have set in motion the popular library idea. This task was accomplished by Boston and the larger industrial towns of New England. Moreover, from the point of view of its influence on every aspect of the American library movement, Boston dominated the field completely.

The course of events which finally established the Boston Public

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Library was neither as simple nor as direct as the Wayland experience. Meetings and discussions, both public and private, began as early as the spring of 1841 when Nicolas Marie Alexandre Vattemare, the popular French ventriloquist and impersonator known to theater audiences on the continent, in Britain, and in America as "Monsieur Alexandre," reached Boston while touring the country in behalf of his system of international exchanges. This system was "designed to give the intellectual treasures of the cultivated world the same dissemination and equalization which commerce has already given to its material ones." His simple logical plan, Vattemare insisted, would result in the establishment of free libraries in every important town and city on both continents. His reasoning ran as follows: If each municipality sent copies of its literary and scientific productions to all other cities and towns which entered the arrangement, repositories of the printed word would spring up everywhere; and, since these collections would grow without much expense to the locality, they could be thrown open, free of charge, for the use of all the people.

It did not take long to convince the Boston audience. An excellent salesman was selling a most acceptable product. In private conversation his attractive and compelling personality assured success. In public library rallies this practiced actor won over citizens, young and old. A meeting of the young men of Boston in April 1841 hailed the proposed institution as a destroyer of class distinctions, sectional antagonisms, and international ill will. The older, wiser, and more influential men in the community were implored to use their good offices to drive forward this vehicle of universal cultural brotherhood. Three weeks later, Boston's solid men met, heard the French ventriloquist and agreed to back his idea.⁶

Despite the initial enthusiasm created by Vattemare and notwithstanding his constant pegging away at city officials and men of prestige, the project lagged until 1847 when Mayor Quincy was induced to make a conditional offer of five thousand dollars for the purchase of books. This same official also promised to get the city council's consent to a petition to the state legislature for permission to levy taxes for the purpose. A Joint Special Committee of the City Council was set up in August 1847 to consider all matters pertaining to legislation, funds, gifts and exchanges. By 1851, the Joint Committee had received into its care large book donations from Robert C. Winthrop, Edward Everett and others, as well as a thousand dollar gift from

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Mayor Bigelow and a thousand dollar appropriation from the city council.

From 1848, the year of the state law permitting Boston to tax the citizens for the support of a public library, until 1852 there were committee reports, reminders by successive mayors, and newspaper articles, all attesting to the lack of concrete activity toward getting the library under way. In February 1852, Mayor Seaver pressed the question in the city council which responded by appointing a librarian and a board of trustees. The problem of getting adequate quarters and a more suitable location for the library also received attention. The first trustees' report, largely written by George Ticknor, then a member of the Board of Trustees, was delivered and adopted on July 6, 1852.⁷

In the early 1850's Boston had good company for its library activity among its neighbors in Massachusetts and New Hampshire. New Bedford (see Chapter III) opened its library doors even before Boston. Concord and Manchester did honors for New Hampshire within a very short time afterward.⁸ Concord alone expressed its cognizance of the Select Committee's hearings, thus acknowledging a direct debt to England. The others may or may not have been influenced. But for those interested in the evolution of the American public library, there are historical elements far surpassing the matter of foreign influences in both pertinence and interest.

We observe, for instance, that during the 1850's there was very little activity outside New England towards the establishment of free town libraries. In fact, one scarcely senses a movement outside the mill and shipping towns of even this section. Cultural tradition might combine with other influences to initiate and cultivate the idea of a popular library, but financial ability after all was the deciding factor. And only where commerce and industry were operating with eminent success were surpluses available for new public institutions.

How much each local movement influenced the others in this decade is hard to tell. The geographical proximity of these towns would seem to preclude the existence of a group of self-contained, culturally-isolated population units. Yet there is little indication in the documents, beyond an occasional retelling of the incident which led to the establishment of the Wayland library, that some of these communities were following in the path of others.

The events and conditions which preceded each establishment

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The events and conditions which preceded each establishment

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were sufficiently unique to limit severely any assumption of borrowing or copying. As we shall see, however, the ideas which supported these separate movements had very much in common.

Chapter 2. CULTURAL FOUNDATIONS

THE SOCIAL AND INTELLECTUAL CURRENTS IN ANY PERIOD FORM THE natural background against which we must place a particular institutional manifestation. The conditions under which people live, the technological changes of the age and the economic structure of society supply the raw elements from which a people must always choose its materials for societal construction.

The purpose here is to examine and describe the backgrounds, ideas and activities of figures prominent in early public library efforts; to do likewise with groups whose influence has been deeply felt in library history; and then to attempt to discover what in the interrelationships and coalescence among individuals, groups, and their social environments, produced the free library of the people.

This study will be approached first by outlining and analyzing the social ideas of outstanding intellectuals who participated in the library movement; next by presenting a composite of the ideas contained in key documents of this period; and then by evaluating the contribution of the newspaper and periodical press toward strengthening this infant institution, the free public library.

THE INTELLECTUALS

The intellectuals are to be treated first not because they directed or dominated all library progress of their time but because they were most articulate in making known the ideas and sentiments of large, influential groups of people. The thoughts these intellectuals presented were their own, to be sure. Say that their expressed ideas had in them elements of conformity behavior, of catering to audiences of the moment. Admit also a definite tendency for man to idealize the result of his conflicting drives. But these same thoughts clearly were in the minds of local political leaders also; and these leaders needed both goading and support from prominent citizens before they would

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translate their sentiments into appropriations. It is toward an elucidation of this type of social configuration that the ideological make-up of intellectuals like Francis Wayland, Edward Everett and George Ticknor is presented.

Wayland

Francis Wayland, promoter of one of the earliest tax-supported public libraries in America, is the first leader to command our attention. Much of his effort, it is true, was expended in the cause of higher education out of the necessities of his position as president of Brown University. But he was also an outspoken proponent of every other type of education available to the youth of his period and, more particularly, a leader in the struggle for free public education up to and including the high school.

Wayland's searching analysis of the taxpayer's investment in an extended public school system must have borne rich fruit if only indirectly through the activities of Henry Barnard during the latter's Rhode Island period.¹ Inasmuch as the tax burden was distributed over the entire population, thought Wayland, no parent should have to seek beyond the public system for the best possible educational advantages. Tax payments of the wealthy and middle classes, he reasoned, were used to educate the families in less fortunate circumstances. Was it then equitable to force those who had already paid more than their share to patronize private schools because the public institutions were undermanned with poorly paid teachers? Beyond the question of economic soundness, there was the danger of developing in American education a class structure which ran counter to the fundamental tenets of our political democracy.

Equal rights could be secured, Wayland maintained, only on the basis of intelligence and virtue. Intelligence and justice were guarantors against slavery and oppression. To American observance of this principle Wayland attributed the conceded cultural superiority of our working classes over comparable groups in the Old World. With equal educational opportunity for high and low alike and every inducement for the individual to improve himself by every means within his power, the process of intense competition was producing a race of self-reliant, intelligent, adaptable, enterprising Americans.²

Increased personal comfort and material prosperity were among the major premises of Wayland's thoughts on intellectual and moral culture. This was as true in 1854 when he extolled the Massachusetts

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legislature for passing its library law, as it was in 1838 when he exhorted the members of the Providence Athenaeum to extend its facilities to embrace the entire citizenry of Providence.³ In opening the Athenaeum, a private subscription library, Wayland could only appeal to the individuals present to cease making their efforts for the east side or the west side and to strive to furnish everyone in Providence "with all the reading which shall be necessary to prepare him for any situation for which his cultural endowments have rendered him capable." Sixteen years later, his address to those attending the semicentennial of the presidency of Eliphalet Nott at Union College, could glory in the realization of "the principle, that it is the duty of society not only to care for the instruction of the individual, but also to provide the means for rendering this instruction in the highest degree available." The final step in his view had been taken when the Massachusetts legislature authorized towns to tax themselves for the purpose of maintaining public libraries.

Strong indeed must have been the conviction of this Baptist educator who, by means of his five hundred dollar gift to the town of Wayland, got a public library started even before the state legislature had given its sanction. Fortunately a well-articulated presentation of his ideas remains for us in the Providence speech cited. The standard works of English literature and the elementary principles of useful science were to Wayland minimum essentials. Much greater things were expected of libraries which he felt all flourishing New England villages could well afford to support. The intellectual and moral culture of the people to be achieved had a far greater social meaning than that of merely supplying pleasant media of social communication.

God-given natural resources were fixed in quantity and kind. The wealth, power, and influence of a people, as well as the individual's happiness and comfort, were dependent on the education and learning brought to bear in the utilization of these resources. Wayland could very reasonably assume during his time that, if the dissemination of knowledge were accelerated, our flourishing agriculture, manufacturing, and mercantile trade could be operated with far greater skill, economy and profit.

But this very prosperity—part already observed in 1838 when Wayland enunciated these ideas, and part anticipated—was laden with social dangers. Moral dissipation, said Wayland, was a kind of luxury which only those with income surpluses could afford. The

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poor foreigner, having attained a wage hitherto unknown to him, became a drunkard—and Wayland's role in the temperance movement underlines this aspect of his thinking.⁴ The country boy, recently come to town and too comfortably settled in a mercantile clerkship, "is changed, in a few months, into the fop, the gambler, and the debauchee; it is well, if it be not into the murderer." Among the more fortunately situated groups where people were not easily led down the path of moral degradation, cultivation of the material and visible was destroying all interest in things lofty, noble and religious.

And more! This gross sensuality among the rich was interfering with the rights of others and creating a visible distinction among social classes. The ostentatiousness of men of means, their "frivolous sensuality," was giving rise among the poor to that radicalism which would abolish all property and the individual right to it. Along with many other prominent educators of his period, Wayland saw a great danger to our institutions in the struggle between the rich and the poor, a danger which could be mitigated by intellectual cultivation on a universal scale. Not that class interests were so sharply defined that a physical struggle was impending. Such an outcome was hardly possible with lines between the social strata as fluid as they were. More to be feared and avoided was a possible political cleavage along class lines in which the victorious majority in each election would tread heavily upon the minority.

The path by which this stormy course could be avoided, said Wayland, lay in the creation of a new order of merit based on intellectual culture rather than on wealth which had heretofore been the only title to eminence. All start on an equal footing in the society of the intellect. The prizes go to the wise. "Poverty here works no exclusion, and wealth furnishes no recommendation. . . . The man who is denied admission to the aristocracy of property, is welcomed into the prouder and nobler aristocracy of talent." So then, if the intention was to preserve our political democracy and to prevent our government from becoming a farce, the people as a whole must be intelligent, virtuous and—as a by-product of these—religious. The library was an important milestone toward reaching this goal.

Providence had to wait until 1878 to witness the fruition of Wayland's ideas. The town of Wayland never grew large enough to support an impressive public library. Concord and Manchester, in New Hampshire and New Bedford, in Massachusetts, opened very cred-

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itable institutions in the early 1850's. Boston, heavily supported by public spirit and municipal aid, seized the leadership and became a model both for general public policy and technical library practice. Much of the social outlook of the Boston Public Library reflected the ideas of its two leading trustees, Edward Everett and George Ticknor. Both had assisted at the parturition of the institution, both contributed heavily to its nourishment and had a good deal to say about its upbringing for more than a decade.⁵

Everett

Edward Everett, Unitarian clergyman, teacher, statesman, and orator, considered himself the real founder of the Boston Public Library. Bitter was Everett's complaint against Mayor Bigelow for twice ignoring the former's offers (1849 and 1850) to donate his public document collection to the city as a foundation upon which a municipal library could get its start. It looked all the more as if Everett were being deliberately robbed of a much sought after honor when the Mayor announced his own thousand dollar founding gift six months after Everett's second offer in 1850.⁶

Everett's library thinking contained an admixture of Wayland's philosophy of free, democratic, public education with a desire to advance the cause of literary and scientific scholarship by making authoritative sources available to more people. During his governorship of Massachusetts, he had done much to improve the common schools and to extend the normal school system in the state. The first three years of Horace Mann's term of office as Secretary of the Massachusetts State Board of Education coincided with the last three of Everett's governorship and Mann's accomplishments in this period speak well for the cooperation and encouragement given him by his governor. It was therefore to be expected that in his retirement he should interest himself in a movement which promised to carry out a program in which he had been interested during his public life.

He was justifiably boastful of the well-built and well-taught schools that his parent city was providing for boys and girls up to the age of sixteen or seventeen. The thought that educational expenditures in Boston exceeded that of any European city thrilled him. It was tantamount to attaining superiority over Europe in at least one phase of culture and learning. The library, said Everett in a letter addressed to the Mayor of Boston, would round out "that

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noble system of public instruction which reflects so much honor upon the city and does so much to promote its prosperity.”⁷

The public motives which lay behind the establishment of equal education for the whole youth, felt Everett, were strong enough to extend the process beyond the period of formal education in the “elements of learning and science.” The operation of the principle of equality failed if it stopped at the critical juncture of school-leaving. The young had all been given the power and the will to study independently and to do research in fields of useful knowledge; but only members of wealthy families had access to much needed books. Those who could not afford to buy their own books were automatically barred from further inquiry.

Books, thought the scholar Everett, were the next best thing to meeting with eminent men of learning and talent. Books contained intellectual source materials so necessary for productive research. They were repositories of the seminal thinking of men whom most young students could never hope to meet at first hand. The stress on “useful” knowledge in a period of nascent industrialization, added to Everett’s long association with men of business, impressed him perforce with the practical utility of the printed book. So that at the same time as he championed library provision for scientists, intellectual and moral philosophers, he was solicitous as well of the “young engineer, machinist, architect, chemist, engraver, printer or student in any of the professions.” Everett later added to his list of categories the intelligent merchant, mechanic, artist, and artisan.⁸ So comprehensive in its offerings was the public library that, once it was established, the whole of Boston would join in its support.

Ticknor

George Ticknor, who had absorbed much of his enthusiasm for great book collections in the company of Cogswell and Everett at Göttingen, was of infinitely greater importance than these two in initiating and guiding the popular library in America. Born and raised under conditions quite similar to those of his Göttingen classmates, he was able to transcend his middle-class scholarly breeding and associations when the time came to set down the purposes of a library for the masses. There is much in his personal history which helps to explain the course his mind took.

Ticknor was the son of a fairly well-to-do grocery merchant whose income was always adequate for the satisfaction of the young stu-

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dent's scholarly ambitions abroad and at home. Moreover there was more of culture in the Ticknor home than the parent's grocery business would suggest. Both of Ticknor's parents had, for a while, been schoolteachers, the father, Elisha Ticknor, having been graduated from Dartmouth. The older Ticknor abandoned the teaching profession in 1795 because of poor health and soon was prosperous enough in business to engage in several civic and intellectual interests. His record of accomplishment in expanding public education facilities in Massachusetts, and particularly in Boston, is a fitting preface to George Ticknor's role in the library movement. His humane attack on such community problems as pauperism and temperance also helps to explain his son's social orientation.

George Ticknor's intellectual development was leavened by one association which must have been powerful confirmation to his father's teachings. On his journey southward, preparatory to the years abroad, he had met Thomas Jefferson and soon thereafter started a correspondence which lasted about a decade.⁹ Their reciprocal influences were very fruitful, Ticknor turning frequently to Jefferson in his educational and scholarly enterprises, and Jefferson listening carefully to Ticknor's suggestions when founding the University of Virginia. In the first years of their correspondence, Jefferson described his plan for public education in Virginia.¹⁰ The impression this plan made on Ticknor is reflected in a later expressed desire to take a position in a federal department of education if only there were one. Jefferson's explanation that this was to be an outcome of the far distant future was one of the factors which settled Ticknor's mind on a life of university letters and lectures.¹¹

A few of the Jefferson-Ticknor letters mirrored the ideals these two shared. One of these from the young scholar in Germany gloried in the freedom of writing and teaching which prevailed in German learning. What was being taught in the fields of government and religion would be impossible elsewhere in Europe and, in America, would find its way "into the great catalogus expurgatorius of public opinion. . . ." If truth was to be attained by freedom of inquiry, then Germany was bound to find the truth. Jefferson's remarks on the resistance of Harvard's befrosted teachers to all advances in university teaching must have fallen on very willing ears: "The spirit of that order is to fear and oppose all change, stigmatizing it under the name of innovation, and not considering that all improvement is innovation, and that without innovation we should still have been

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inhabitants of the forest, brutes among brutes. Patience, pressure, as unrelenting as gravity itself can alone urge man on to the happiness of which he is capable."¹²

Patience was Ticknor's formula for social change. His was doubtless the same outlook as that of the intellectuals and noblemen he saw so much of in Europe, and of the mercantile-professional coterie which was to be found in Boston's Wednesday and Friday night clubs. Said he, when Europe was rent asunder by war and under the shadow of threatening revolution, "God seems to work in the moral world by periods, like the geological periods of the great changes in the natural."¹³ He hated war because it was violent. Should slavery be destroyed by violent means, the cause of humanity would suffer. Ticknor's preference for gradualism in social change dominated his thinking.

These views would not interest us here were they not linked somewhat with Ticknor's educational philosophy. The European revolutions of 1848 were designed, he thought, to turn the political power over to the working class just as similar upheavals in 1830 had done for the middle classes. The civilization of Europe was a decaying one which the masses were assailing with new social theories—socialism and communism. Ticknor was able to write comfortingly to his friend, Prince John of Saxony, that the "wise" men and even "the great mass of our people at the North" viewed the destructive revolutionary movements disapprovingly and felt that these were destined to failure. Illiteracy explained the attraction of the masses to these movements, according to the American analysis as reported by Ticknor; and, further, the lack of a *sine qua non* political education would render any new governments incapable of remaining solvent. Moreover, our universally educated people could see nothing in the proposals of the French agitators which was comparable to their own successful experience with popular government. Severe limitations on governing bodies, operation on equal terms by capital and labor, by minorities and majorities, were strange ideas indeed, especially strange to those who moved comfortably in the society of a privileged minority.¹⁴

Underlying Ticknor's program for free schools and free libraries was a deep concern for the preservation and enhancement of our republican institutions on the foundation of an intelligent populace. The building and maintenance of a great nation rested on the wisdom of the masses who controlled it. He loved and trusted the great

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majority of his fellow citizens as much as he feared and hated what he termed illiterate mobs.

The idea of a tax-supported library, freely open to the people, had been developing from the earliest days when he used the Göttingen library, through the period in which he visited the Dresden library, to the founding of the Astor Library in New York. There had been conversations with William Ellery Channing, Abbott Lawrence, Jonathan Phillips, and then the crowning collaboration with Everett—all leading to the final success, a public library for Boston.¹⁵

The patience and pressure which Jefferson had prescribed stood Ticknor in good stead in relationship with his associates in the enterprise. Before long he found that his plan to buy and circulate many copies of popular books of the month was opposed by a stone wall of scholarly prejudice. His colleagues, Everett included, were thinking of a sort of educational reference library for students and businessmen, Ticknor had something quite different in mind. He concurred with the others in the premise that this library was the crowning glory of the public school system created to carry on the work of self-culture. He even suggested special library tickets for school children in order to create the reading habit early in life. Up to this time the Boston Public Library had been open only to adults.

But there was a larger purpose. The taste for reading which cheap printing had created in the twenty preceding years had to be implemented. Our problem was not like that of many European countries where the depressed condition of the people condemned them immediately upon school-leaving to a life of severe labor to provide mere subsistence. Our people had leisure for intellectual culture. An appetite for it could be and had been created. The desire had to be gratified. Popular books had to be bought in sufficient numbers to allow several people to draw a single title for home use at the same time. Works of reference and learned materials would be bought out of private donations; but the less favored classes of the community held first claim. In yielding, Everett came quite a distance from the days when he wrote in the letter which accompanied his gift of books and documents to the city, "[the library] would not be a lounging place for idlers, but a quiet retreat for persons of both sexes who desire to improve their minds." Ticknor had threatened to withhold his highly desired services in the library project unless he had his way. Patience and pressure bore fruit.¹⁶ Everett and the other trustees accepted without revision Ticknor's version of the es-

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sential function of a popular library and incorporated it into the preliminary report (1852) of the trustees of the Boston Public Library. And then too, as Ticknor himself pointed out at a later date,¹⁷ time and the social flux were on the side of a more liberally administered institution. This shift in direction which took place fully a decade after the public library campaign in Boston must, in the last analysis, rob Vattemare of the title of "father" of the movement. Ticknor's own feelings on this question are illuminated in a letter from Elisa Susan Quincy to Mellen Chamberlain, dated April 2, 1879, which states that Ticknor called Vattemare a charlatan and "wouldn't allow Everett to mention him justly at the opening of the library."¹⁸ A series of letters written to the Boston Public Library in 1879-80 regarding the credit for its founding indicates a great deal of petty wrangling for the honors, Everett being not least among the wranglers.¹⁹

The physical facilities of the Boston Public Library followed Ticknor's underlying proposal. A separate room, more accessible than the others because it was in the lower part of the building, was set aside for the popular lending collection. This section was the first to be opened to the public. When a few years had entrenched the popular library principle in Boston and elsewhere, Ticknor began to interest himself in the needs of scholars. Then he undertook to complete his plans to render available the entire range of literary culture from low to high; for the one discernible "selfish" motive he had was to get wider broadcast for his own intellectual program.²⁰

EARLY DOCUMENTS

Practically every facet of the early social approach to the public library question appears in the preamble to the Massachusetts Library Law which reads as follows:

Whereas, a universal diffusion of knowledge among the people must be highly conducive to the preservation of their freedom, a greater equalization of social advantages, their industrial success, and their physical, intellectual and moral advancement and elevation: and

Whereas, it is requisite to such a diffusion of knowledge, that while sufficient means of a good early education shall be furnished to all the children in the Common Schools, ample and increasing sources of useful and interesting information should be provided for the whole people in the subsequent and much more capable and valuable periods of life: and

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Whereas, there is no way in which this can be done so effectively, conveniently and economically as by the formation of Public Libraries, in the several cities and towns of this Commonwealth, for the use and benefit of all their respective inhabitants:

Into the writing of this preamble—which was omitted from the final form of the statute—went a full understanding of the mind of the Massachusetts legislature. It comprehends much of the philosophy of adult education which preceded it chronologically and foreshadows the outlines of the library program of the future. An analysis of several crucial library documents of this period will embellish and illumine the bare statement presented to the legislature by furnishing its ideological context. These documents are: the report of the Special Joint Committee (1847) to the Boston City Council;²¹ the Rev. John B. Wight's speech (1851) before the Massachusetts legislature;²² the report of the special library committee to the 1852 town meeting of Concord, New Hampshire;²³ the preliminary report of the trustees of the Boston Public Library;²⁴ the speeches delivered at the Librarians' Convention of 1853²⁵ and at the laying of the cornerstone of the Boston Public Library;²⁶ the documents reprinted in the Boston City Council's memorial to the philanthropist, Joshua Bates.²⁷

Cultural and Economic Competition

The most frequent and prominent appeal in these documents was that to the spirit of cultural rivalry and intellectual imperialism. This appeal was most intelligently conceived in an era of industrial and mercantile competition among cities of our own country and at a time when the people of this nation were becoming proudly self-conscious of their achievements and potentialities.

New York City had already seized the commercial and industrial laurels from Boston. The imminent opening of the Astor Library (Boston papers announced the legacy as early as 1838) menaced the jealously guarded literary supremacy of that city; at least, such was the view of Boston's mercantile-dominated cultural leadership. By force of their renowned good reading habits and their fast-developing minds Bostonians must soon become an honor to their nation. The public library, when added to Harvard University, the Lowell lectures, and the many other outstanding cultural agencies, would most certainly make Boston a Mecca of learning and science. The

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character, reputation and wealth of the city would soon wax brilliant. The "solid men of Boston" held strings on politics and business all the way to Oregon. It was within their power to insure the character and intelligence of all these people to the west merely by setting the pace with their own institutions and by becoming the arsenal of American culture.

The Rev. John B. Wight knew the strength of intermunicipal rivalry when he told the Massachusetts legislature of the successful operation of a public library at Wayland. He also knew how much his cause would be weakened by the circumstance that libraries, to a large extent, must be supported out of the pockets of property owners. Said he, to offset this unspoken but potent objection, ". . . will not the increased value of their real-estate, in consequence of their having such a library, exceed a hundred fold all they have expended in its augmentation."

Ticknor and Everett in Boston and Joseph Cogswell at the Astor Library were unremitting in their intent to surpass the European libraries they had visited during their sojourns abroad. The Boston report of 1852, which is a product of Everett and Ticknor's collaboration, hardly mentions this motive. Others did, however. An envious finger was pointed at the municipal libraries in England, France, Belgium and Germany. The townsmen of Concord expressed their indebtedness to the British Parliamentary Committee (1849) for its published evidence of the social values of libraries.

Those who attended the Librarian's Convention of 1853 heard a positive, even aggressive, declaration of American superiority. They heard quoted the Prussian visitor in America who said with no uncertain emphasis, "Our people can read, your people do read." They heard that American scholarship was embarking on a complete reexamination of history from its own native viewpoint. Our historians were going to do it all over again, declared Charles C. Jewett of the Smithsonian, wherever they found that the European savants, whom they had been following, had tortured the facts to conform with the old world notions of injustice and oppression; the resources for this endeavor had to be complete.

There was, moreover, another aspect of America's international ambitions, a desire to take its place as an equal among equals in the network of international relationships. By initiating public library systems on the groundwork of Vattemare's system of exchanges we hoped to impress France as well as the other powers with our rising

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political and scientific competence. As Vattemare explained, two broad consequences were to be expected from his system: a better cultural understanding among the multiplicity of geographical units; and an exchange of knowledge at a time when industry, railroads, steam-navigation, and the electric telegraph were uniting the hemispheres.²⁸

Social Lag

Many who had had the opportunity of observing the operations of existing libraries were convinced that these institutions were irretrievably out of line with the progress of society. Admittance of the privileged few to the libraries was proper, they felt, at a time when literary collections consisted of irreplaceable manuscripts. However, a world of improved type manufacture, of power presses, of cheap, abundant paper, could not but motivate and facilitate the formation of libraries just as the invention of printing had in its own time.

Ticknor more than once spoke out against the old methods, comparing them with old roads which no one would think of using when rail cars and steamboats were available. The old subscription libraries were failing, he declared, because they were not adapted to the practical wants of the country. He confirmed the impression of Dr. Jesse Torrey, of Ballston Spa, New York, who had observed thirty years before when campaigning for free public libraries that library proprietors were not always the ones who were most eager to read. Even the school-district libraries, with whose establishment Torrey was indirectly associated, failed to meet the needs of adult readers.

To be sure, the constituencies of Boston's many class, professional, and sectarian libraries insisted that their combined resources reached the entire population of Boston. The fact that there was agitation for a public library seemed to Ticknor, who represented the entire first board of trustees in the preliminary report on the Boston Public Library, ample refutation of this claim. Those who argued that we did not need public libraries because the subscription type was a good substitute, stated the library trustees of Boston, might as well say that there would be private schools if the state did not maintain its school system. The old idea of Benjamin Franklin that young men would profit more from books that they had to make sacrifices to get was inconsistent with mid-nineteenth-century ideas of democracy. It was no longer a question of what could be accomplished by

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the indomitable will of a few in ardent search of learning; the greatest advantage for the mass of the people had become the supreme object.

Under political, social, and religious institutions like ours, adults, more so than children, had to be informed on questions which reached down to the very roots of our society. The adult population constantly made decisions on such questions. Better wisely than ignorantly. The claim of the public library that it promoted the general welfare was thus set forth on the same plane as other services which had been undertaken by the state and local governments.²⁹

The early promoters of free libraries made much of the pure democratic spirit this new institution represented. They called it "our intellectual and literary common," open alike to "the rich and poor . . . the high and the lowly born, the masses who wield the hammers of toil, and the unenvied few who are reared in affluence and ease."³⁰ For library purposes, board members were urged to erase from their minds all group consciousness and social delineations, such as classes, ranks, parties, and sects. They were reminded repeatedly that libraries were for the benefit and improvement of *all*.³¹

Free Libraries and Free Schools

The bridge between free schools and free libraries was omnipresent in the early documents of the American public library movement. This connection was both a self-evident truth and a convenient piece of logic. Library bills were normally referred to committees on education in the legislatures. What indeed could be more convincing than to point out to a state legislature or a city council that the seeds of knowledge had been sown by their hands and that the plant must now be looked after and encouraged to bear good fruit? Everett and Ticknor were fond of emphasizing the fact that Massachusetts towns were providing free education up to the point where it could most profitably be utilized and then were leaving the youth to its own resources.

Every inducement to support schools with tax money was applicable to libraries. The educational utility of books was boundless. Not only were they necessary because of the small number of teachers as compared to the number of students, but, by giving access to sources of every kind of information, they also would account for a considerable increase in the qualifications of the teachers themselves. Books, it was explained, would raise the level of comprehension of

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lectures, sermons, newspapers, and other sources of popular knowledge. Books—even the least popular of them—must find readers from forge and forecastle. The example of Elihu Burritt, the learned blacksmith who distinguished himself as a linguist and was outstanding in the peace movement, proved that books in many languages would reach the homes of the humble as well as those of the learned. The presence of a universal intelligence was assured. Even a “heavy ploughboy” had the capacity for new thoughts and aspirations which could be activated by the right kind of opportunity. Books contained both reagent and catalyzer for the creative stuff which was latent in the whole of mankind. They were the machinery which could produce more intelligent, better informed, useful and respectable citizens. The product would be a people markedly elevated in tastes, morals, and manners.

Uplift by Prevention

Such was the positive function of free libraries. There was also one of uplift by prevention. The same public officials who were levying taxes for educational purposes, were also concerned with jails, almshouses, and asylums. They reminded the taxpaying citizens that it was the function of the state to prevent crime as well as to punish it. The message of the mayor of Boston in 1848 which mentioned the necessity of state legislation for a public library also announced that it was the city’s official policy to act *in loco parentis* wherever dissolute parents were keeping their children out of school to engage for family profit in wharf pilfering and other vices. In 1853, another message expressed satisfaction with public library progress and then discussed, among other things, an asylum for inebriates.³² The dislocations engendered by industrial progress and population concentration were giving humanitarian officials much cause for concern.

On the whole, temperance and prison reform were more than academic and moralistic reform movements. Manchester and Concord, whose prosperity was comparatively recent, were facing a painful object lesson in cause and effect. The mill workers in these towns, as Mayor Smyth of Manchester (New Hampshire) was emphasizing in his inaugurals, were largely minors who had been drawn from Massachusetts and New Hampshire farms to man expanding industries. Lacking parental guidance, they were easily led to the haunts of intemperance and vice. This was true as well of native youths who were not subjected to the proper restraints at home.

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Many a promising youth, who had not been instilled with a desire for the pleasures of the intellect, ended up in a sorry state. The public library was urged as a bulwark to defend society against the tendencies to dissipation which existed in every industrial town. The library was a fairy wand of social reform. It would even encourage more domestic habits of life by competing with the "low immoral" publications of the day.

The role of religion in this reform movement was not pressed. Notwithstanding the general prominence of clergymen at library functions of all kinds, the idea of using the new institutions as religious agencies was never proposed. Dedication prayers always thanked Divine Providence for the intellectual advantages possible and mentioned culture as being linked with religion; but religious purposes were never grafted upon the newly established institutions.

Early Philanthropy

All was not lofty, humane, and intellectual with library promoters and their audiences. Much of the practical motive which had induced industrialists to start plant libraries or to contribute heavily to local subscription libraries was also present in the social ideas of free-library supporters. Everett and Ticknor mentioned it; so did the Committee of Concord townsmen (1852). Its fullest expression was brought to the Massachusetts legislature by Wayland's representative, the Rev. John B. Wight. Libraries, he explained, would bring economic prosperity to the state of Massachusetts because intelligent, well-informed persons always do better work. How much more efficient would be the farmer, the mechanic, merchant and mariner when they had access to the best books on agriculture, mechanical arts, descriptive geography, the laws of trade and the sources of wealth?

Of the many men of prominence in Boston who gave funds and books to the library, at least one was motivated by the practical promise of libraries. Although there was no statement accompanying Abbott Lawrence's gift to the Boston Public Library, his intentions concerning other philanthropies were a cue. The religious concept of the stewardship of wealth, claimed to be a guiding principle in the lives of the Lawrence brothers, must be somewhat qualified by Abbott Lawrence's founding of the Lawrence Scientific School and his gift to the Franklin Library Association.³³ In letters announcing these donations he stressed unmistakably the necessity of

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schooling and book learning for creating superior chemists, engineers, mechanics, and inventors. Lawrence's attention, in short, was directed toward the application of science to the mechanical arts. He was interested in a practical education more formal and efficient than was possible under scientific internship and apprenticeship practices. In the absence of historical documents pertaining to Lawrence's gift of ten thousand dollars to the Boston Public Library, we must infer his purposes from public acts in other connections. To his interest in practical science must be added his concern in keeping sound morals and religion in step with the prosperity of large industrial cities, his deeply religious sense of obligation to promote the education of the whole people, and his association with the paternalistic group of Boston men of good will. His brother Amos, to whom the "stewardship of wealth" seems to have been most meaningful, must also have had a telling effect upon him.

Joshua Bates, American representative of the British financial firm of Baring Brothers, has left us a better expression of the ideas which underlay his fifty-thousand-dollar donation for a reference library. His is the picture of a successful merchant who, recalling the deprivations of the period before he rose to wealth and comfort, decides to provide for other young men who are preparing for a business life. Thirty years before Andrew Carnegie was to tell of his gratitude to Colonel James Anderson for access to the latter's private library, Bates recalled how he spent many an evening in Hastings, Etheridge and Bliss's bookstore. Twice in letters to Thomas W. Ward he professed his faith that warm, well-lighted reading rooms would keep indigent youth—living in unheated quarters without parents, or with impoverished ones—out of bad company. He was sure that morality would keep pace with the intellectual advancement stimulated by the library, thus carrying out the spirit of Boston's system of free schools. Bates, grateful to the economic system which had permitted him to advance from poverty to riches, insisted that the users of this library not be made to feel any class differences between their own free library facilities and those libraries available to the "upper classes."⁸⁴

The expectation that philanthropy would supplement the municipal purse always found its way into published library documents. This was natural at a time when private educational subsidy was as acceptable as public effort. Vattemare's speeches had convinced people that the federal and state governments would deposit

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their publications in free libraries. With gifts of governmental bodies practically guaranteed, library promoters used dedications, inaugurals, trustee reports, etc. for soliciting books, legacies and donations.

ROLE OF THE NEWSPAPER AND PERIODICAL PRESS

Outside Boston, little is to be found in the local press which would reflect contemporary (*ca.* 1850) opinion on the public library question. Editorial comments on happenings in intellectual affairs were unheard of, and local news had only recently become qualified material for town papers. Concord papers reported library events under "municipal" and "council" notes. Local and state library legislation drew no remarks. At New Bedford, local papers gave factual accounts of the introduction of orders, actions, etc., in the town legislative body. On June 28, 1854, both the *Evening Standard* and the *Daily Mercury* printed detailed accounts of the library trustees' report on the danger of fire in the quarters then occupied. On August 29, 1856, the *Evening Standard* issued a three-column spread on the proceedings at the laying of the cornerstone for a new building. The program for the ceremony was reported in detail and extracts from speeches were printed.

In Boston where journalism was more advanced, items on the proposed library were longer, more frequent, and consequently more influential. The preliminary report of the trustees was previewed and extracted for publicity purposes. It was remarked at this time that the plan for a free public library had been agitated repeatedly in several newspapers for a period of five years.³⁵ Library news was featured with unusual frequency. There were items about the Boston Athenaeum, the American Library at Paris, statistical articles on libraries in the United States, and remarks on the forthcoming Astor Library. Of course there were also reports of legislative and council action as well as quotations from communications to the municipal government concerning the library.³⁶ One report used the announcement of a projected library at Newburyport to spur the people of Boston on to a similar undertaking. The role of books in the self-improvement of many of the country's leading minds—men like Nathaniel Bowditch, Edwin P. Whipple, and Elihu Burritt—provided incentive for action. In the name of local pride, the people were exhorted not to compel students to go out of town for reference books; to furnish the means of weaning young women from dress,

gossip and romping, and young men from the bowling alley and liquor-shop.³⁷

Two editorial series in the *Boston Daily Evening Transcript* merit separate treatment because they summarize the thoughts of Boston's leaders on the subject. One, signed by "Canty Carl" on Social Improvements ran from late 1849 well into 1851. The public library was only one of this writer's subjects. He also directed the public attention to the necessity for a gallery of art, an academy of music—in anticipation of Jenny Lind's arrival in Boston—public wash houses, the drama, dancing and other amusements. The other, a series of three articles on the library published in July 1851, was signed by "Audiar."³⁸

"Canty Carl" raised his voice against the hypocrisy of calling Boston the "modern Athens" when it compared so unfavorably with Paris and other European cities in public library facilities. At least, said he, if we could not compare with the cities of the old world in library holdings, we ought to outstrip them in the liberal administration of whatever libraries we had. Another failure of Boston, and other New England towns, was the lack of facilities for showing travelers some degree of hospitality. In Paris, one could visit the libraries, the galleries, the lecture rooms, and the gardens. In our towns, there was no place to go except to the hotel barrooms and gin-palaces. The Washingtonians and the Sons of Temperance, said "Canty Carl," had opened reading rooms for their members; the Mercantile Library Association provided for clerks and apprentices; but the only places of resort available to the mass of people during their leisure hours were the streets and grogshops. Without comfortable homes to attract them, or places of culture outside their homes to go to, children naturally fell into vice and crime. The proposed public library, along with its allies, the free gallery of art and academy of music, would "be a blow at the liquor saloon, the gaming table and the criminal dock."³⁹

"Audiar's" social approach to the public library question was to a degree like Everett's conception of education in a democracy; it was also very close to the ideas contained in Ticknor's writings on the subject. The coincidence of a Ticknor-Everett letter series coming shortly after the appearance of Audiar's first two installments indicates that some of Ticknor's progressive ideas may have been suggested by these articles. But the reverse seems more likely.

The general tenor of this series was that the state had a stake in

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the efficacy and ability of the individuals who composed it; that since "Time is Money," time saved by individuals indirectly reverted to the state treasury. Every improvement of an individual—and there was much room for improvement of indigent young men with undeveloped talents—was reflected in the elevation of the entire social circle in which he moved. Yes, books were cheap and library facilities existed; but cheap books meant nothing when the price of purchase was not at hand, and libraries were useless when they concentrated on furnishing the learned with the means of perpetuating their own knowledge. If any of these "wise" men had designs on the Boston Public Library, they were warned that the people had a voice in this institution and they would see to it that it was managed in their interest. The right kind of library would provide books in which "the people" were interested and would thus stem the tide of pernicious literature that was flooding the market. To write and preach against this demoralizing stuff was only to advertise it. The only way to curtail the circulation of cheap literature was to offer something better without any cost whatsoever to readers. Let economic and cultural competition work hand in hand.

The democratic paternalism which characterized these articles pervaded most of the newspaper treatment of the period of free library establishment in Boston. Newspaper editors, and many of the writers, had access to the Athenaeum which was very suitable for their purposes. Their general attitude appears to have been: Provide this institution for the masses in order to forestall any notion the said masses might get to invade the reading rooms of the chosen few. The attitude of many Athenaeum users, revealed during the discussions on the absorption of the Athenaeum by the public library, was that they wanted the people to have library facilities but were horrified that the noisy, irreverent, uncouth mob would be permitted to spoil the quiet comfort of their preserve.

As for the periodicals of general distribution, little is found in them on the purposes of libraries beyond their intellectual content. Articles were generally descriptive and statistical in nature having as their object the comparison of American bibliographical resources with those of Europe, or an analysis of the size and holdings of various important American libraries. One important service a few of them rendered was bringing to the attention of their readers the hearings on public libraries held before the Select Committee of the House of Commons.⁴⁰ The influence of these articles was limited se-

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verely by the fact that most of their readers were already supplied with fairly adequate libraries.

We observe in the ideological pattern of the library movement that an urban industrial configuration, with the social dislocations it engendered, was necessary to the growth of this new community service. Above all else, two conditions were requisite to convince the taxpayers or their representatives of the necessity for an added expenditure. The intellectual leadership, on the one hand, had to have the confidence of the taxpaying interests. On the other, these same leaders had to demonstrate that continued industrial and commercial prosperity depended on an educated populace.

These conditions were unquestionably most strongly present in the urban-industrial-commercial setting of the Northeast. They were least in evidence in the rural South. Men like Ticknor and Everett were extremely influential among those who held the economic and political controls in their regions. These merchants and manufacturers were themselves an educated group to whom the practical advantages of reading were self-evident. Even if this were not the case, the threat to undisturbed prosperity, a threat inherent in population shifts and close living, would probably have clinched the argument.

Notwithstanding these generally favorable portents, the transition from the old "fee" library arrangements to the new free institution did not move as quickly and as free of challenge as many hoped. The legislative mechanism was often slow. The existence of traditional agencies was sometimes a retarding factor. On occasion, oppositionists had their way for a number of years before popular sentiment grew strong enough to win.

Chapter 3. FROM THE "SOCIAL" LIBRARY TO THE FREE PUBLIC LIBRARY

LEGISLATION

LEGISLATION GOVERNING THE ESTABLISHMENT OF MUNICIPAL LIBRARIES in New England seems to have met with little resistance in either the state legislatures or the local councils. So infrequently were moves to create libraries defeated, that librarians—by 1876—were beginning to speak with complete confidence in the future of their profession. If adequate library laws had not yet been enacted in certain states, mere inertia was an acceptable explanation for tardiness. Where laws did not guarantee the support deemed necessary for successful maintenance of libraries, librarians were certain that "public opinion" would take care of everything.¹

This assurance was not without ample justification. When one considers the magnitude of the step taken by the New Hampshire legislature in 1849, it is little short of amazing that the library bill went through the entire legislative apparatus, from introduction to gubernatorial approval, in nine days. New Hampshire, without the experience of a district-school library law,² was the first state in the union to permit its municipalities to tax themselves for the creation of libraries "open to the free use of every inhabitant of the town or city where the same exists, for the general diffusion of intelligence among all classes of the community."³ This act, most general in conception and without any limitation on the rate that a town could appropriate, was a tribute to the educational ideals of the legislature and an admirable model for other states to follow.

The permissive law which Massachusetts passed in 1851 lacked the conciseness, the restraint, and extreme liberality of the New Hampshire bill. It was introduced with the flourish of the Rev. Wight's excellent speech and was accompanied by a preamble which stated its social and intellectual purposes. A rate limit of one dollar for each ratable poll in the first year, and twenty-five cents for each succeed-

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ing year, was imposed on towns which established libraries under the act. Inasmuch as the experience of the first several years demonstrated conclusively that none but the largest cities could maintain libraries decently on this rate, a law of 1859 raised the permissible tax limit and another law of 1866 removed the limit altogether.

The remaining New England states enacted their public library laws within the quarter century. Maine (1854) and Connecticut (1869) followed the original Massachusetts pattern of setting maximum tax rates. Vermont adopted the New Hampshire type in 1865, but fell back to the Maine pattern two years later. Rhode Island's first library act (1867) provided that a town could appropriate twenty-five cents on each one hundred dollars of ratable property and ten cents on each one thousand dollars in succeeding years. An amendment two years later gave permission for concurrent action by two or more adjoining towns. The unsuccessful operation of these acts led in 1875 to the passage of a law quite different from all New England experience. Provision for state aid was written in. The state board of education could cause sums up to five hundred dollars to be paid to existing libraries, the amount depending upon the size of respective book collections. The stimulus provided by this proffered subvention was a most salutary influence on the public library movement in Rhode Island. In some cases, proprietary-subscription libraries were opened free to the public; in others, libraries which had ceased to be free and public for lack of support, were revived; in still others, new institutions were created.⁴

When, after 1890, library commissions were established, both state and local activity were noticeably accelerated. The Massachusetts (1890) and New Hampshire (1891) Commissions were empowered to make a grant of one hundred dollars worth of books to any town library where the municipal appropriation met the requirements of the state law.⁵ An almost immediate consequence of this legislation in New Hampshire, where little progress had been made, was the founding of eighty-seven new town libraries.

The library interests in this state, however, were not quite satisfied and, four years later, they secured the enactment of a *compulsory* library law. Under its terms, every town had to elect a board of trustees annually and turn over to its care the collections from a compulsory assessment of fifteen cents for each one thousand dollars evaluation. Where libraries were not established, a vote of "inexpedient" was required at each annual meeting and the library assessment

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placed in a cumulating fund until such time as a free library was voted. In towns where libraries were founded by ballot (rather than by donation) no person could be deemed ineligible for election to the board of trustees by reason of sex.⁶ Although some doubt was raised as to the value of the compulsory feature and although it was agreed that the legal minimum was too small to keep a library up to reasonable efficiency, "an awakened public sentiment (was) being relied upon to secure an additional appropriation sufficiently large to secure adequate support."⁷

It was not long before other states followed suit by enacting commission and "state-aid" statutes differing from those of Massachusetts and New Hampshire only in the method and mechanical details used to achieve the same purpose. Maine—which had raised its permissible tax limit in 1893 to two dollars per ratable poll for establishment and one dollar per poll annually for maintenance—established its state-aid feature in 1895, placing administrative authority in the hands of the state librarians. Connecticut (1893) and Vermont (1894) imitated Massachusetts closely in their acts "to promote the establishment of free public libraries." Rhode Island, it will be remembered, anticipated these states by from fifteen to twenty years in granting state aid to properly established and supported free town libraries.⁸

In New Jersey and Pennsylvania legislation was neither as expeditious nor as satisfactory as in New England. The first New Jersey law for the incorporation and protection of lyceums, libraries and literary-scientific societies was passed as late as 1875. An act of 1879 merely gave common councils in cities the mechanism whereby to establish and manage free public libraries. The acts of 1884 and 1890 provided a basic tax rate for town libraries—one third of a mill on each dollar of assessable property—and a revision in 1901 permitted the municipal governments to raise an additional mill per dollar for library purposes.⁹

The organized taxpayers in New Jersey seem to have been successful in making their political representatives see things in the "right" light. A proposal to impose a tax on the school districts for library purposes created a host of library enemies in spite of the almost unanimous precedent for such a law in New England and the Middle West. Local support for these libraries had finally to be put on a voluntary basis in 1872.¹⁰ Another indication of resistance to adequate library support was a bill, introduced into the state legislature

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by the Jersey City political ring in 1892, which purposed to limit the mandatory appropriation for any one library to ten thousand dollars. Inasmuch as this piece of legislation, if enacted, would have deprived Jersey City and Newark of two thirds of their library appropriations, it drew forth a storm of protest from the press, the clergy, librarians and various trade groups. Popular pressure, instigated somewhat by the local press, succeeded in defeating the aptly named "Honorable" Paddy O'Neill's bill.¹¹ Even New Jersey's commission bill, passed by the legislature in 1896, failed to obtain the signature of the governor who felt that (one has reason to suspect the honesty of this explanation) the money appropriation for the commission's expenses was inadequate.

Pennsylvania, habitually slow to adopt progressive educational legislation, finally introduced municipal library bills in the years 1895-97. The difficulties encountered in securing clear, sound legislation as well as in stimulating local action are reflected in the first report of the library commission.¹²

The importance of the state library commission as an activating agency in the public library movement is best illustrated by the history of free libraries in New York State. Here success of the library idea was not achieved until comprehensive legislation was written into the State University law in 1892 by Melvil Dewey, outstanding leader in the library profession, whose key position as secretary of the University of the State of New York from 1889 to 1900 gave libraries untold advantage. New York furnishes an anomalous situation in which early and original work in disseminating culture through free libraries proved to be a signally retarding force in the library movement. So well had its school-district library law of 1835 been received in the first decades of operation that, for a long time, the necessity for better legislation could not make itself felt.

Some of the larger municipalities, Rochester and Utica, were doing fairly well with union-district libraries. New York and Buffalo were struggling along with facilities provided by philanthropy or voluntary subscription. Special laws were passed to permit individuals to furnish land and properties for the foundation and support of free libraries for their own respective communities.¹³ The desires of the original donors for the perpetual management of these libraries were generally incorporated in the special law and a provision for tax exemption was usually included.

Numerous other laws were introduced and passed by the legisla-

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ture to allow towns to subsidize local library associations out of the community treasury. Thus, in reply to a petition of the voters of Parma, New York, a tax of three hundred dollars was permitted to be raised on property for the relief of the Parma Institute.¹⁴ Another type of law allowed towns to "relieve" local library associations by giving them moneys received from liquor license fees, from excise taxes on spirits, and from fines imposed for infractions of temperance laws.¹⁵ Still other library legislation permitted local associations to hold, manage and dispose of the various income-yielding properties in their possession.

Oswego was an outstanding exception to this haphazard state of library affairs in New York. Here, in April 1854, a city library was founded on the strength of a twenty-five thousand dollar gift for the purpose. Gerrit Smith, abolitionist, temperance agitator, campaigner for religious causes, and all-around humanitarian, was the donor. The movement here was not initiated and promoted by citizen groups interested in the diffusion of knowledge by means of public institutions. It was started by the act of one man who was interested in disseminating religious and social "truth" to his fellow citizens. Curious it is that Smith was in general opposed to the use of state funds for public improvements, including education.¹⁶

The Oswego City Library opened in the summer of 1857 and immediately absorbed the five hundred volume collection of the Mechanics' Association. In 1858 the city librarian received a salary from the local board of education for services connected with the public school libraries of the city. An appropriation by the town council in the following year added two hundred dollars toward the library's expenses. In 1861, the city made its first annual appropriation of seven hundred and fifty dollars as authorized by an amended charter. Additional gifts from Gerrit Smith in 1862 and 1868 provided funds for book purchases.¹⁷

Notwithstanding the favorable milieu for free libraries throughout New York, there was no permissive law until 1872. This law, with its amendments in 1885, 1888, 1892 and 1896, prescribed the manner in which the governing bodies of towns, cities or villages might resolve to establish and maintain free public libraries. Appropriations—one dollar for each legal voter in the first year and fifty cents each year thereafter—could not be made under the law of 1872 unless a majority of all taxable inhabitants petitioned the governing board for the purpose.¹⁸ The reasons for the inoperation of

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the 1872 law are not clear. Quite possibly the profession in New York was not aware of its existence, or, in the confused state of affairs (produced by the uncertain status of school-district libraries), was not goaded sufficiently to seek legislative change. It is not inconceivable that appropriation only by a majority of *taxable* inhabitants had much to do with the failure of the law. Certain it is that the 1872 law did not even start to achieve its purpose and that this fact was pointed out in Albany as early as 1878,¹⁹ fourteen years before New York library laws were put into more satisfactory form by Melvil Dewey.

The law of 1892 was admirably suited to the state library situation. By its terms twenty-five voters in a city, town, village or association could petition to have the question of a public library raised at the next election in which taxes were to be voted. A library proposal could be adopted either by a majority vote of the citizens or by a resolution of the local governing body. Provision was made for state aid as well as for subsidies (at the rate of ten cents for each book circulated as certified by the Board of Regents) to private institutions which agreed to make their book collections available to the general public.²⁰

The absence of unified, forceful legislation in the state had little to do with the delay and confusion in New York City. The manifold and variegated private, religious and political interests of America's wealthiest city provide the best explanation for New York's execrable free library facilities. Even when Ald. Adolph L. Sanger introduced a bill into the state legislature in 1886 to give New York City a public library, the supporters of the New York Free Circulating Library saw fit, with the support of Mr. Dewey (then of Columbia University) to block the move in favor of another bill permitting a city grant to their own enterprise. This public subsidy to private educational endeavor was beginning to jar the public mind as represented by Mr. Sanger, who found it difficult to understand why the city money should be "appropriated to eighteen gentlemen in New York to conduct a private library."²¹

PATTERNS OF TRANSITION

The fashion of emphasizing the stimulus provided by legislation would seem to be justified by a statistical study of library growth in some of the states. Library expansion apparently did result from the enactment of favorable laws. Discussions attending the estab-

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lishment of the earliest tax-supported institutions generally mention the advantage taken, by the founders, of such laws as that of 1849 in New Hampshire, that of 1851 in Massachusetts, or some fresh achievement in library legislation. The stimulus of state-aid laws and library commissions in the last decade of the century is attested by the rich flowering of the public library idea all over New England and the Middle States. The outstanding exception was Massachusetts, which had accepted the public library before the state-aid library-commission era. Pennsylvania with its Carnegie bounties was also an exception.

If the close relationship between legislation and establishment may not be ascribed to mere coincidence, neither can "good" laws be celebrated as a *cause* of the prosperity of the free library. This is no more true than the interpretations that attribute causal status to individual men of good will, to librarians and their friends, or to philanthropy. All of these factors were at once effect and cause in a dynamic field of social patterns, ideas and events, whose impact upon the movement it is our purpose to study.

As one contemplated this rather cordial legislative acceptance of public libraries it was impossible not to be optimistic. Areas of coolness, of open opposition sometimes, arose from the activities of machine politicians who were doing advance guard work for the larger taxpayers. Significantly enough, such situations generally occurred in densely inhabited cities where the multiplied cultural needs of the populace were disproportionate to the charitable instincts of wealthier fellow citizens. Where philanthropic bequests failed to force the issue upon influential taxpaying interests, library progress was occasionally retarded. Inasmuch as even these redoubtable foes were defeated many times more frequently than not, librarians and their allies seemed to be highly successful.

Hence, when William F. Poole, a prominent American librarian, wrote on "Some Popular Objections to Public Libraries," in 1876, he was referring principally to England and only in a general way to the opposition in this country. The concrete and theoretical objections described by Poole are those which arise in every struggle to extend public education. First and foremost was the cry that the existing tax rate was oppressive to property and business and was all the taxpayers could bear. From political theory came the argument that the tax burden for libraries—and this was strongly reminiscent of the fight against tax-supported schools—was unequally weighted; in

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other words, the benefits of the tax were not enjoyed in direct proportion to the sum paid. In fact, some people who did not want to read books were being forced to share the burden of maintaining a free library. Another idea, of even greater respectability because of its association with Herbert Spencer, seemed also to have been put to profitable employment by the enemies of increased social service; viz., the only legitimate function of government was protection.²²

In the United States, and especially in New England, tax-supported libraries were inaugurated with a minimum of opposition from the voters and indeed, as the Mayor of Boston observed in 1877, "it (the public library) has become so fixed in the affections of the people that it may now safely defy all opposition, whether attack be made by the sordid, the narrow-minded, or the unlettered."²³ Many of the Massachusetts towns such as Brookline, which by reason of their wealth and educational traditions were ripe for cultural expansion, either made their social libraries public or voted the maximum legal appropriation for the establishment of a free library.²⁴

The transitional pattern did not present smooth and undisturbed lines in all cases. While the majority of town histories show a short direct course from the "social" to the free library form, there are some which tell the story of opposition, struggle, delay and, in a few instances, defeat in the movement to transform a subscription institution into a tax-supported one. Good examples of quick, uncontested transitions were those of New Bedford and Worcester. Slow difficult histories were those of New Haven, Buffalo, Amesbury (Massachusetts), and Providence; others present an early acceptance of the public library idea with obstacles and inertia delaying successful action. In Boston the transition did not take place; the new form when established lived side by side with the old.

Coexistence of "Social" and Public Forms: Boston

Boston's story tells of the complete rejection of the proposal to transform the Athenaeum into a public library and the complete and speedy acceptance of the free library idea. This conflict over the conversion of the Athenaeum is peculiarly interesting not merely because it coincided with the most dynamic library movement known but because it pictured both the conditions and the ideas which were beginning to force the transition toward more democratic cultural institutions. The proposal that the city pay the Athenaeum the appropriation of five thousand dollars voted in 1848 in return for pub-

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lic privileges was rather cordially received at first among the proprietors of the Athenaeum. The offer was made by the city because the prospects of a large private subscription to supplement the grant of tax money did not seem bright in a year (1848) when the nation was suffering an economic depression;²⁵ it was probably accepted eagerly by the proprietors of the Athenaeum for related reasons. Four years later when the proposal was presented for adoption the Athenaeum proprietors reversed their decision and turned the proposition down.

The elder Josiah Quincy pleaded with his fellow proprietors not to abandon to political vicissitudes what had been built with much sacrifice over a half-century "in this palmy moment of individual and city prosperity, when wealth was never more abundant and public spirit never more active. . . ." The corporate property of the Athenaeum was safe under the Webster Whigs then in power but, not knowing what political changes the future might bring, it was not just to risk the long standing property of the men who had built the institution, by turning it over to the city.²⁶

Quincy's arguments always respected the leanings held by his more democratic friends and fellow citizens. The public statements of other members of Boston's elite, which appeared as letters to the editor or as newspaper editorials, did not always show deference to the feelings of the rest of the citizenry. The thought of an unruly populace rushing in and out of the library seizing magazines and newspapers—even out of the proprietors' hands—produced anxieties which overruled the normal tactic of avoiding any slur upon the manners of the majority. Moral and intellectual uplift of the masses by means of literature was fine—but let it be done elsewhere under other auspices.

Scholarship and education must be kept separate. A purely democratic institution would do great good for the community but the Athenaeum had to be maintained as an exclusive resort for those gentlemen whose preferences in literature were in advance of the rest of the population. The conservators of the old order, themselves Athenaeum shareholders by inheritance or purchase, were vehement in their insistence that: "So long as the world exists, society will have its gradations and tastes, wants and habits of the 'upper tendom' and 'the million,' as the divisions are vulgarly called, will be different." These and other objections to this proposed transfer—such as the experimental nature of the public library as opposed to

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the "safe" Athenaeum, the fear that the city was planning a circulating library of popular books, the necessity of maintaining the individuality of the Athenaeum—forced the decision to keep two major public book collections in Boston.²⁷

Among the more telling arguments for consolidation with the public library were the continual financial embarrassment of the Athenaeum and its inability to expand by purchasing all the new books needed by its clientele. Proprietors complained that year after year they were asked to buy additional shares or to make outright contributions so that the institution might remain solvent. George Ticknor, who led the campaign to turn over the Athenaeum's properties to the city of Boston, presented the calmest and most intelligent analysis of the social changes which made consolidation advisable: The Athenaeum was in a class of institutions started in the previous century to meet the needs of a very different society. Expanding populations and the broader distribution of educational advantages were proving private institutions to be inadequate. A prediction was ventured that mechanics' and mercantile institutions would soon see the handwriting on the wall and would eventually become public.²⁸ Among the eighty proprietors who subscribed to Ticknor's point of view were Abbott Lawrence, Edward Everett, Samuel Appleton, J. I. Bowditch, Samuel G. Ward, Charles P. Curtis, Benjamin Seaver, George S. Hillard, W. W. Greenough, and Josiah Quincy, Jr.

Smooth Transition

In some localities an ample treasury, a group of well-disposed taxpayers, and a climate of opinion generally favorable to tax support for educational facilities, combined to result in a quick, smooth transition from the subscription type of library to the free public library. The best example known of such a combination occurred in the very earliest days of the public library movement at New Bedford, Massachusetts.

New Bedford.—The New Bedford library, first to open its doors to an eager public after state sanction for tax support was given in New Hampshire and Massachusetts, has generally boasted of being first in the movement. During the mid-century years the prosperous, exuberant town of New Bedford looked to its substantial merchants, owners of whaling vessels and promising industries, for social and political as well as economic guidance.

At a time when oil was literally running in the streets of New

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Bedford, the town leaders, fearful lest something might interrupt the continuous growth and permanence of their material wealth, sought every possible insurance for the maintenance of the *status quo*.²⁹ They looked on the public schools as fundamental to the preservation of the traditional democracy which had been so kind to them; they had high hopes for the recently established evening schools which were already serving large numbers of Negroes and immigrants as well as native whites who had missed the advantages of an elementary education.³⁰

When a citizens' petition for a public library was handed to the town council in the spring of 1852, there was no apparent need for debate on the question of this latest extension of the city's adult education facilities. Fifteen hundred dollars were appropriated even before a local ordinance was adopted in favor of a public library. Opinion in high places must have been unanimous.

Moreover, the Social Library, which was at this time experiencing annual budget deficits because of loss in membership and delinquent dues payments, had appointed a committee to investigate ways and means of regaining solvency. This committee, headed by Charles B. Congdon, a local bank cashier, took upon itself negotiation with the town for the surrender of the Association's book collection in return for the assumption of all its debts. When Congdon delivered his committee report on July 7, 1852, all arrangements had been made and there remained only the final step—ratification of this plan by the shareholders. By a most unusual coincidence, it appears that the same Congdon who was seeking means of alleviating the Social Library's debts also led the citizens' petition to the town council for a public library.³¹

Worcester.—Worcester, larger and more populous than New Bedford, was being served with literary culture during the 1850's by a few social and professional libraries. A growing desire on the part of the leadership of these group undertakings to unite all the collections in the city in a public library was climaxed toward the end of November 1859 by the offer of Dr. John Green to donate his own collection to the city. Two days after Dr. Green broached the subject to the city council, the Worcester Lyceum and Library Association communicated with the Council offering to transfer its library to the city "provided suitable appropriations and arrangements are made for its reception." It is difficult to ascertain the reaction of the general public to the library question at that time as the people of

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Worcester and their press were carried away by accounts of John Brown's execution. One gathers that the coming public library was identified (for promotional purposes) with general public prosperity: anything anybody learned added to the wealth of the community. The Mayor and other municipal officers made something of the necessity for postschool education, pointing out the contribution made by libraries in Boston, Newburyport, New Bedford and in England toward the intelligence and welfare of the masses.³²

The transition from private to public auspices was "accepted" without taxpayer opposition. The requests for adequate building and book-buying appropriations were not so fortunate. One newspaper editorial, demanding a library building, pointed to overcrowding in the existing quarters and hurled anathemas upon those political demagogues who sought popularity on the basis of an economy-minded administration. Mentioning certain fears and hesitations which were hindering the library appropriation, this editorial cried shame to the citizens who were forgetting "that, although business is somewhat depressed, we have the elements of larger growth and greater prosperity than we ever yet have known."³³ The first librarian, the Reverend Z. Baker, petitioned the city "to contribute to this end (the purchase of books to supplement the Green collection) rather than to police or almshouses, as must be if the unfolding mind is neglected."³⁴

Long Period of Uncertainty

In some cities it was only after a long period of uncertainty and fluctuating fortune that a city library partly or completely supported by subscribers' fees finally became a full-fledged tax-supported institution. The rulers of the treasury in such cases may have been unwilling or hesitant on the ground that they did not believe in the luxury of a community-owned library. They may have been willing but financially unable to support one. Local leadership may have been weak. Many combinations of circumstances were capable of joining to delay action on the establishment of a public library.

Lowell.—Lowell, for instance, reported a free library inaugurated in 1844 under the Massachusetts school-district library law of 1842. However, in one of the early years of its operation, probably 1854, the Lowell City Library apparently began to require a fifty-cent annual fee of its subscribers.³⁵ The annual reports show a slowly

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but regularly increasing clientele with an alarming slump in 1858-59, an artificial resuscitation effected by an active publicity campaign and a liberalization of regulations in 1860,³⁶ a relapse in 1861-63, followed by a swift rise to a plateau from which the directors, by no manner nor means could produce an appreciable ascent until the fifty-cent fee was removed. The lean prewar and war years were explained by the dominant public interest in the news of the day, "the decrease in the population of the city, caused by the suspension of operations in the factories, and the departure of volunteers for the army."³⁷

Almost annually from 1861 onward there were proposals for making the Lowell library more accessible and inviting, proposals ranging from a lowered fee for juvenile borrowers to making the library absolutely free to all users. The well-known moral and humanitarian benefits of free libraries were cited in the effort to remove the fifty-cent barrier between the library and the people. The fee was not really prohibitive but, in large families, amounted to a sizable sum. The taxpayers, it was remarked, would feel the burden much less than would individuals and families.³⁸ In spite of the telling arguments of the library directors, the city administration, believing the time inopportune, postponed action to eliminate fees until 1883.

Lawrence.—Other Massachusetts towns passed through similar, slow periods of change from the almost public to the pure-public type of library. The Franklin Library Association (Lawrence, Massachusetts) was chartered by the state legislature after Abbott Lawrence had presented it with a thousand dollars, and Daniel Appleton White had contributed a tract of land. An additional five thousand dollars was left to the library in the will of Mr. Lawrence. Members paid ten dollars—plus an annual assessment of one dollar—in 1853. In 1857, the library was opened to anybody who paid a one dollar fee, and it operated under this requirement until the city took over in 1872. The phenomenal rise in its circulation in the very year of transfer was an adequate commentary on the restrictive effect of subscription fees upon the popular patronage of libraries.

Amesbury.—The town of Amesbury affords another typical history. In 1856 the library of the Amesbury Flannel Company, which had been established originally for the operatives of that company, was given to the town. From the first year of its operation, the income of this institution (derived from annual subscription payments of one dollar per borrower) declined steadily in spite of the appeals

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made by John Greenleaf Whittier for a larger membership and added support. Whittier waited in vain for more people to join until, in March 1889, the town voted to accept the library as its own. The poet, probably because of personal attachments and associations, never supported the transfer of the library to municipal management; not even the immediate increase in circulation produced by this change affected his point of view.³⁹

Buffalo.—The fortunes of the Buffalo Library, which began as the Young Men's Association on the crest of a golden wave in 1836, rose with every period of national prosperity and rolled downward on the declivity of every business cycle. The very year after it had been inaugurated amid the extravagant promises of flourishing enterprise and profitable investment, the directors of the institution were forced to raise funds through moonlight boat excursions and garden picnics. Barter methods were also resorted to with life memberships offered in return for services rendered. Lecture offerings not only justified the existence of the Young Men's Association but became a source of much-needed revenue in the 1840's and 1850's. Among the lecturers brought to the people of Buffalo by the Association were Horace Mann, Horace Greeley, Emerson, Holmes, Lowell, Thackeray, Beecher and Everett. The scars of the 1837 depression were scarcely healed when the promise of an adequate building was frustrated by the financial crash of 1857. In 1856, a prominent citizen had offered a plot of land and ten thousand dollars in addition, if nine thousand dollars could be raised for the proposed building. Of course, the state of things in the year following made it impossible to fulfill the conditions.

The plethora of lecture offerings in the 1870's combined with hard times to produce a very discouraging situation for the Buffalo library management. Ways and means of making the institution more popular were discussed. A plan was proposed to throw the library's facilities open to the whole public "as free as the common schools" in return for the provision of a building by wealthy citizens of Buffalo. But as this plan failed to materialize, its proponents turned to the city itself. "Outside of New York and Pennsylvania," said the management, "there is scarcely a small town of any spirit that is not building up a free library, supported by taxation." A casual examination of the handling of library problems in cities of comparable size brought home the conclusion that Buffalo was lagging behind. Library facilities were in fact not even keeping pace

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with the educational accomplishments and aspirations of that city's population. The income of the library, which was inadequate to insure decent salaries, book purchases and expenses of administration, received a devastating blow when the state legislature (session of 1895-96) withdrew tax exemption from income-bearing properties of public institutions. A city library was the correct and only answer. It was universally endorsed, receiving the support of the Merchants' Exchange, the Council of United Trades and Labor Unions, the Council of Good Government Clubs, and the Engineers' Society of Western New York.⁴⁰

Resistance

Actual instances of reported and documented opposition to public libraries, or of the employment of dilatory tactics by local councils, are so few that it is difficult to write a clear analysis of resistance to tax-supported libraries. The time elapsing between the recognition of a need for such an institution and its actual establishment is long enough in some cities and towns to raise a suspicion of opposition. To some extent the delays were due to human inertia and the time-consuming nature of committee hearings, discussions, and decisions. The mere existence of a semipublic agency supplying local library needs was frequently the cause of failure to vote a tax-supported library. Sometimes municipal authorities used such local institutions as excuses for not providing reading facilities consonant with the size and wealth of the community. In any case, since there are a few reported instances of opposition and delay, these must be given their proper weight in the history of the American public library. Their suggestion of what may have taken place in other communities contributes toward completing the picture.

Salem.—In the case of the Salem (Massachusetts) Public Library, which was proposed in 1873 and finally opened in 1889, we find that the proposal to gather the various libraries of the city into a municipally-owned building was received "with considerable favor and but little opposition" at a public hearing; and yet the project was postponed because the members of the committee found that "the expense of library at this time is very much opposed by many citizens."⁴¹ The original reaction, in all likelihood colored by the prevailing tone of financial insecurity in 1873 started a long period of inaction. The existence of several fairly good library collections in the city made the proposal less exigent in that period.

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The subject of a free public library in Providence has been under discussion for at least fifty years. The (*Providence Daily Journal*), as long ago as 1828, contained an article setting forth the advantages of a free library. . . . The public-spirited persons of that time do not seem to have responded with any great alacrity, and the library project was laid aside. In 1836 it was revived again, and there was mild agitation on the subject for several months. The interest in having a free Library increased as the discussion went on, and, had 1837 been a year of prosperity, the Library might have come into existence within a few years. But, before the close of 1837, people were too much occupied in trying to save money enough for their personal needs to be willing to listen for a moment to any suggestions looking toward giving away money. From 1836, the library project slept, with occasional brief awakening, until 1859, when the importance of a Free Library was again urged. Then came the war, again the library matter was crowded aside by more imperative demands. Six years after the war closed, the old story was told again, and now six years later (1878), the first fruits of the half century of discussion appear.⁴⁴

No examination has ever been made beneath the surface of events described in the above summary of the public library movement in Providence. The first attempts at opening a library for public use were probably frustrated in part by economic difficulties; for it must be remembered that these were the days in which the idea of a public library did not possess sufficient vitality to persevere through the financial reversals of its supporters. Apparently the elements of resistance to the public library movement were deeply entrenched in Providence during the civil war period and afterward, a period in which many libraries were inaugurated in New England towns of lesser means. Providence in the 1870's had both the will and the means to create a people's library. The ideas employed in convincing the strong men of Providence of the importance of loosening private and public purse strings for library purposes reflect the real resistance spots in a fascinating manner.

Early in 1870 two of the libraries which were serving Providence's public quite generously, though operating under private auspices, sought concrete aid toward enlarged public support and increased use of their facilities. The Union for Christian Work, whose free library was run in connection with an amusement and reading-room, frankly asked those people "whose generosity and liberality have already interested them in the question of a free library" to come forward and practice their philanthropy on a working institution—

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the library of the U.C.W.⁴⁵ The Mechanics and Apprentices' Library apparently had been having similar thoughts for several years. However, realizing that its library was too small to serve as a public library, the efforts of the Providence Association of Mechanics and Manufacturers were directed to support a campaign to raise funds for a new municipal free library. The mayor and the city council were drawn into the movement.⁴⁶

The tone of the entire campaign was epitomized by a newspaper editorial which contributed the slogan, "Have we a Lenox among us?" Providence, with an assessed evaluation which ranked very high among American cities, chose to await the benevolence of its many manufacturers who had "amassed regal fortunes, and enjoy[ed] incomes larger than those of any crowned heads in Europe." Some thought that the gift, not as yet offered, would serve a double purpose if given to Brown University; it would enhance the university's prestige and serve to bring the university closer to the people. This idea never gained wide popularity inasmuch as the university could never reach the people in any real sense. Moreover, it was suggested that there was no necessity of waiting for a Lenox. All that was needed was a place of deposit for book gifts from the public. Once the books had been collected, a way would be found to circulate them.⁴⁷

The library question, once opened for discussion, was immediately submitted to the Providence electorate for its decision. The proposition (to appropriate a sum equal to five cents on each one hundred dollars of its ratable property) was decisively beaten at the polls.⁴⁸ One apologist for this defeat, which was justly felt to be discreditable to the city, declared that the city council had thrown the question at the people without adequate preparation or publicity—this at a time when so many other public works were raising taxes. Other libraries had received their start through private munificence. Why not Providence?⁴⁹ An answer was given in January 1871 in the form of a charter of incorporation. The new institution was a compromise between the "Boston Public Library" type favored by Reuben Guild, then librarian of Brown University, and the "Cooper Institute" (of applied science) type favored by Wellcome O. Brown, a wealthy physician. It was called the Free Public Library, Art Gallery and Museum. The trustees were to consist of the mayor of the city, such persons as would donate ten thousand dollars or more for the erection of a library building, "and such other persons to make

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the full number of twenty-five trustees as should be chosen by the contributions of sums smaller than \$10,000."

At a meeting of the various interested organizations on June 15, 1871, Joseph A. Barker bought the first trusteeship. Beyond that funds were painfully slow in arriving. It was at this meeting that Reuben Guild was asked to read an account of the fifth annual commencement of Cooper Union which contained a long extract of Cooper's reply to the graduate presentation address. This extract was a full, candid revelation of Cooper's rationalization of the doctrine of stewardship. Most pertinent to the particular issue was the passage which said: "When rich men are thus brought to regard themselves as trustees, and poor men learn to be industrious, economical, temperate, self-denying, and diligent in the acquisition of knowledge, then the deplorable strife between capital and labor tending to destroy their fundamental, necessary and irrefragible harmony will cease. . . ." ⁵⁰

Rhetoric gave way to forceful persuasion when the Library Committee urged wealthy citizens in the name of self-preservation, as well as philanthropy, to loosen their purses. The horrible experience of the Paris Commune was held up before their eyes as the result of man's ignorance of his own rights and the rights of others. Men of wealth were warned to consider the large foreign-born population of Providence, and to prepare against the menace of "Communism—subversive of all the rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." ⁵¹

At the beginning of 1875, with only fifty thousand dollars in the library treasury and twenty-five thousand dollars more promised, Providence's perennial mayor, Thomas A. Doyle, saw fit to use his tenth inaugural address as a vehicle for impressing the public library project upon the minds of the city's men of substance. In urging a free library adapted to the needs of a manufacturing community and designed to attract great numbers of working people during their leisure hours, Doyle carefully underlined the self-supporting nature of the new institution. The new library was to be an act of practical benevolence entirely divorced from the city treasury for all time. The city council would be asked merely to donate a site. ⁵² Sanguine though the mayor and library trustees were of obtaining this site from the city council, they never were able to induce that body to participate even to the small extent of providing building space. In 1877, the trustees of the institution (which for lack of expected sup-

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port was already minus its originally planned art gallery and museum) decided to compromise their grandiose intentions of opening a large comfortable building. They leased a large room in the Butler Exchange and got the library under way the following year. After ten years of unsuccessful operation on a seven thousand dollar a year income of a free library for one hundred thousand people, the city finally relented and made an appropriation of three thousand five hundred dollars. This was soon increased to seven thousand five hundred dollars and later, in 1895, to ten thousand dollars.⁵³ The nonfeasibility of operating a public library without public support was irrefutably demonstrated in Providence.

THE WEAK ECONOMIC BASE OF THE SUBSCRIPTION LIBRARY

This same lesson had been learned in numerous other urban communities which—either because of the undaunted perseverance of well-intentioned diehards, or as a result of the obstructional tactics of pressure groups—had postponed governmental acceptance of library responsibility. Voluntary library associations had created a communal habit to which they could not possibly cater satisfactorily on an income-base as narrow as theirs was. Not only could these libraries not attempt service to entire communities, as sometimes was their stated aim; they could not even purchase enough of the current publishing output to fulfill a proper obligation to their own subscribers. Operating as they did on revenues derived from property rentals, security investments and annual membership fees, subscription institutions suffered acutely in every financial, business and real estate depression.

To make matters worse, municipalities were sometimes forced in years of stress to enlarge their tax lists in order to maintain their coffers as near to normal levels as possible. Private cultural institutions which had previously enjoyed tax exemption on their income-producing properties lost their privilege in hard times. This new and substantial financial burden was particularly distressing since it came during a period of general financial stringency normally harassing to the executive boards of subscription libraries.

In these very periods of uncertainty, moreover, individuals who needed library privileges more than ever to assist them in making occupational adjustments could no longer afford the subscription price. Economic distress and widespread unemployment made free libraries more necessary and useful in proportion as they destroyed

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the foundations of support and patronage of subscription institutions.

As our comparatively secure middle-class society of the cities began to shift toward a less secure wage-earning one, men of wealth and influence were seen to advocate for one reason or another governmental responsibility in the distribution of educational and cultural facilities. As the idea of a free, classless, common school education was gradually extended to include free library service, subscription and proprietary institutions were being completely overshadowed in much the same fashion as were private schools and academies. The inauguration and successful operation of a public library in a neighboring town or in a rival municipality was frequently the accelerating force for transforming an athenaeum, a library association, or a mercantile library into a tax-supported institution. During the latter part of the century, moreover, many a struggling corporate institution was drawn into the orbit of the public library idea by the attractions of state aid or by the promise of a large philanthropic gift.

Materialistic considerations evidently constituted a determining factor in hastening the transition from the earlier "social" library type to the free, tax-supported and publicly controlled town and city library. It goes without saying however, that these same conditions which were incident to an unstable economy might have resulted in a recession of cultural activity among the people. Communities and public spirited individuals might not have risen to the occasion were not the dominant ideological pattern of the period sympathetic to public sponsorship of agencies of popular culture.

The ideas which nurtured the public library movement have thus far been treated only as they were incidental to the early history of American libraries. In subsequent chapters an attempt will be made to develop, one by one, the impact of these ideas upon the progress of free libraries in the nineteenth century.

Chapter 4. DEMOCRATIC STRIVINGS

GENERAL POLITICAL AND SOCIAL BACKGROUNDS

ONE OBVIOUS GENERALIZATION TO WHICH OUR STUDY LEADS IS THAT the main currents of nineteenth-century American thought, no matter what their origin or direction, supported the foundations and growth of the free library movement. That such a confluence of diverse ideologies, meeting on the common ground of a system of free schools and libraries, was at all possible is to be attributed to the adjustability of the American mind to shifting forces and changing conditions. It was this flexibility which could start with a common heritage—the democratic premise—and could modify, distort, or even pervert it to suit the requirements of widely varying points of view. The tax-supported public library not only answered the criteria inherent in the democratic premise but also offered an instrument as responsive to varying social requirements as democracy itself.

The ideas brought into service by the spokesmen for free libraries were drawn very naturally from the well of rhetoric best suited to the celebration of American institutions. Many of these ideas were observed in those writings of early promoters of the library movement already discussed. The present treatment will be devoted to a description of the cultural setting for library events of the early movement; to the reappearance of these same ideas in the library literature of later years; and to a presentation of new developments which arose in a changing scene. ■

Republicanism and the Religious Heritage

The concepts of republicanism, risen from the enlightenment, advertised in the Revolution, strengthened in the philosophy of Jeffersonianism and practiced in the era of Jacksonian democracy, were by mid-century deeply engraved upon the popular mind. The doc-

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trines of human rights, political equality, and residence of authority in the whole people, had become firmly fixed in the professed American credo, though sometimes these ideas were not followed to the letter by leaders in political and economic life. When the suffrage was extended in the 1820's bringing the political reality into closer harmony with the democratic ideal, the education of the masses—which had been a corollary of the concept of rationalism—made a new claim upon the attention of New England Whig leaders in politics and society. New institutions were needed to help make the landless, propertyless following of mass political parties more amenable to the rationale of friendly, paternal conservatism. The new voters needed the tempering influence of education to curb their impetuosity.

Even more deeply embedded in the culture of New England and its demographic colonies was the heritage of individual moral worth translated from the earlier Calvinism into a doctrine more congenial to requirements of nineteenth-century America. The individual was the focus of state activity. The individual, moreover, must in obedience to moral law translate his virtue into social progress. The only true function of government was to nurture the individual in his intellectual and economic growth. Moral order, the restraint of evil, and social responsibility were the mainstays of order and security. Universal education and religious conviction were the guarantors of stability. Moreover, the Unitarianism which had quietly revolutionized conservative New England religious thought was a strange transformation of the old struggle against evil ingrained in man's nature. It emphasized, quite to the contrary, the divine goodness attributed to humankind by the religion of enlightenment. Puritan corrigibility had been assimilated into democratic perfectibility and romantic idealism had been added.

William Ellery Channing, who was among the intellectual leaders of this revolution, was himself a product of antagonistic components. At about the turn of the century his Federalist sympathies had been completely tortured out of their original shape by contact with Jeffersonianism and French romantic philosophy. At the same time he experienced the beginnings of a shift away from the state religion of his home region—a shift which was eventually to become a severance of relations from many life-long associations. The humanitarian, egalitarian, and otherwise democratic synthesis of ideas which moulded Channing's later social outlook implied a swerve too sharp

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for any of the New England intellectuals to follow. Even Ticknor, who had shared many of Channing's more progressive ideas, was prevented from following Channing too far by the intellectual restraints of Boston Brahminism and by the biases of his conservative mercantile associations.

More conservative minds were nursed along the way by Kantian idealism imported by American scholars either directly from Germany, or through Coleridge and Carlyle who were interpreting the immanence of divine spirit for England and America. For those conservatives and sentimentalists to whom the application of cold analytical reasoning was a menace to established institutions, the doctrine of emergence of divinity within the individual was a great comfort. Individual actions—in this system—were motivated by sources which held divine sanction; they were to be encouraged but not controlled.

The transcendentalists attempted to practice a Unitarian idealism which was unconsciously affected by the socialistic doctrines of Fourier. Emerson predicted a world of transition and evolution in which the sole duty of the state was to produce wise, virtuous, and free individuals. The state was to be humane and productive of human welfare; it was to be deprived of its police function. Having assisted in the production of responsible individuals, the state should disappear. Many of these progressive aspects of Unitarianism influenced New England lawyers, ministers, teachers, physicians and merchants, and prepared them for the many humanitarian and educational movements in which they were to participate so prominently.

In all of these ideological systems—Lockean or Kantian, Calvinistic or Unitarian, realistic or idealistic—education was accorded an elevated rank. All were agreed that a state-supported common school education should lay the foundations for necessary intellectual development. All, however, conformed largely to the national philosophy of individualism, and therefore could never cooperate in developing a unified plan of higher education. Such a plan was rendered impossible also by the great variety of coexisting economic, religious and political sects, movements, parties, and economic interests—all of which were competing for prestige, power and control.

Self-Culture

The one idea which was acceptable to all—because it drew spirit and substance from all points of view—was that of "self-culture."

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Although Channing, in setting down a formulation of self-culture, declared that it was the rightful property of the great fraternity of workingmen, the philosophy was (as a précis will show) congenial to every interest and view. In the first place, the common people were not to concern themselves with their condition of life since personal worth and greatness were more important than worldly goods. The powers of intellect, conscience, love, and the knowledge of God were well distributed among the whole of the people. Self-culture, aided by the self-searching and self-forming powers, with purposive growth and expansion as a goal, would overcome everything standing in the way of the march to perfection. Self-culture embraced the idea of duty (the moral), the aspiration towards the true idea of God (the religious), the disinterestedness which follows the truth wherever it goes (the intellectual), the unfolding and purifying of the affections (the social), and lastly, the ability to make quick decisions when these were necessary for action (the practical). The means of self-culture—the poor were rich in these—were described in summary form as the ability to see the things around one in their true meaning and to put them in their rightful places. These means were presented in many forms: in nature and human life freely revealed to the human eye; in control of the animal appetites; in intercourse with superior minds; in books (books were the true levelers); in the ability to make one's own decisions independently of human opinion and sanction; in one's own condition or occupation; in the opportunities presented by the political relations and duties implied by our free government; and, superimposed on the foregoing elements, in Christianity.

Here was a practical ethical system satisfying to the great mass of politically enfranchised farmers and workingmen, but also perfectly geared to the political, religious and social ideals of those middle-class entrepreneurs of the Northeast who pulled the reins of the economic order. Themselves habituated to a Calvinistic morality which satisfied the moral and, superficially, the religious requirements of this philosophy; possessed as well of a social and economic framework of life based on trust, law and science—thus complying with the social, practical, and intellectual requirements of the creed—the merchant-industrialists of New England were comfortable and secure in their environment. Law and scientific knowledge had minimized life's uncertainties. The political and economic arrangements of the fatherland had favored the individualistic motif which was so favorable to the enhancement of their fortunes. And yet, with all

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the power which a comparatively unchallenged social order yields to its controlling group, the businessmen continued in obedience to Puritan morality for several decades and resisted with all their strength the rapacious individualism which industrial and financial capitalism introduced.

In the earlier period, these businessmen examined their thoughts and deeds with just as much rigor as did other social leaders. Could they answer the question they put to themselves as to whether they had done their part in the community uplift? Many were the strains in the collective mind of New England which cooperated in public-spirited ventures. It was this mind which founded numerous benevolent and literary institutions. It was this view of life which brought Channing, Everett, Ticknor, the Quincys, and other substantial Bostonians together on the subject of a free public library. How well-suited this institution was as an ancillary to the process of self-culture! How well-adapted as an agency of popular discipline! This type of education, along with the publication of "correct" textbooks, novels, and periodicals, would promote the already manifest desire of the masses to emulate the qualities of the middle class, to act and think in conformity with accepted proprieties. Then, too, one had to consider that the populace had a high potential of political power and a small income surplus to encourage radical independent action. Should the people be left in ignorance? Should the leaders build educational institutions bearing the forbidding label of charity offerings? It was folly to pursue either of these courses.

There were two available methods of avoiding the pauper stigma on popular education, viz., voting tax support and preaching the doctrine of stewardship. Generally both were employed simultaneously. The stewards of wealth often combined genuine religious conviction, complete with its sense of duty and moral obligation, with the practical necessities of their privileged position in society. The need for a well-educated staff of workers in the new industries was, coincidentally, supplied as a by-product of the projected popular institutions. In this most desirable state of affairs, stewardship was highly acceptable; for, as Mayor Smith declared at the laying of the cornerstone of Boston's public library, "when the results of honest industry become instrumentalities for developing the mind, and multiplying resources for bettering the conditions of humanity, society is permanently advanced." In later years the recipients of donations did not always insist upon the "honest industry" element in this formula.

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Forward March of Science and Technology

Concurrent with shifting intellectual assumptions, and foremost among the causes and encouragements of progressive thinking, was the revolution in applied science and technology. Nothing confirmed the Jeffersonian promise of indefinite improvement and expansion more than the achievements of science and its accomplishments in the process of revolutionizing industry. Given a universal diffusion of "useful" knowledge the limits of social improvement were indeterminate. Aided by radical improvements in communication and printing, the scientific spirit filtered down to the lower strata of the population and laid the base for a new and genuine mass culture. The intellectual monopoly of the upper classes had been broken—with the consent and encouragement of the former monopolists. Mental development went arm in arm with industrial development and, with the new methods of manufacture, was prerequisite to it. Men of affairs in industry were more than willing to patronize physics and chemistry when the returns were demonstrated to be immediate and tangible. The success of industrial science, reinforced by the inroads made by the Darwinian hypothesis, stimulated an interest in pure science. The scientific outlook permeated all phases of life and, in time, all propositions came to be tested by their observability in reality.

The disinterest of science in sect or belief naturally fostered secularism and therefore greatly encouraged the growth of Unitarianism—the religion of secularism—within the Congregational Church. The disdain of experimental science for rank, caste, or class, prepared the way for the application of new knowledge toward seeking practical results and spreading their benefits far and wide. Such were the claims of equality in a democracy.

The Smithsonian Institution (established 1846) and the American Association for the Advancement of Science (organized Boston 1847) attested to the influence of science and industry upon intellectual interests and institutional arrangements for distributing knowledge. In the course of the debate on the character of the proposed Smithsonian, the arguments developed were on political as well as intellectual grounds. Rufus Choate urged that the greater part of the fund be used to purchase books for a national library. The social idealist and democrat, Robert Dale Owen, insisted that such an institution would deny the claims of democracy by directing its services

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mostly to the needs of scholars. His suggestion was to devote the funds to the publication of cheap tracts, popular lectures, and a national normal school to improve teaching in the schools of the masses.¹ Owen's failure in Congress was doubtless attributable to the unwillingness of states—both Northern and Southern—to allow the federal educational institutions direct access to the minds of the nation's population. He was unable, moreover, even as one of the regents of the institution, to get any of his ideas accepted. He was beaten in the Smithsonian by the dominating voice of pure science which held power there.

The effects of industry on science and education went beyond the rationale of cognate fields of interest. If the advances in practical science occasioned the urgency of an educated people, they also caused a transfer of much mercantile wealth to industry where profits increased their proportions and provided a larger taxable wealth for institutions of popular education. Moreover, under the new distribution, chieftains of industry were more numerous than the old merchant princes and were at least as willing to patronize the arts, sciences and letters. Individual writers on special subjects aided by the power press and cheap paper production, could also look for the patronage of a huge literate population whose small financial surplus permitted a limited satisfaction of their cultural aspirations. The market was flooded with such a profusion of books that, even though these were comparatively inexpensive, no one could hope to possess as many of these books as he wished. At first it was possible to meet this difficulty by supporting small, scantily capitalized libraries. Later, the implications of democracy joined with the exigencies of cultural demand to produce the publicly supported free library.

Cultural Nationalism

The new culture, exhibiting an exuberance of movement, expansion, progress and participation, celebrating individualism, local independence and initiative, and exalting the humane spirit, molded the democratic faith into a religion of nationalism. American literary output was beginning to dispossess the British from American printing presses; American books were being introduced into the British Museum by the bibliophile, Henry Stevens; the English were buying and collecting our scientific and literary productions; men of science were arriving from abroad and delivering encomia on American men of science and their accomplishments; our libraries and

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other institutions were exhibiting the American product and thereby assisting in the struggle against a middle-class penchant for things foreign. Educational agencies were supplying the means of that self-culture for the lack of which, Emerson pointed out, American intellect and money were fascinated by foreign travel, literature, and art. The national literature of which Channing had written in the *Christian Examiner* (1830) was already proceeding on its triumphant way. Its scope was large enough to encompass every great product of native endeavor. It included in close union all matters moral and physical, humane and scientific. Said Channing, "The expression of superior mind in writing we regard, then, as a nation's literature. We regard its gifted men, whether devoted to the exact sciences, to mental and ethical philosophy, to history and legislation, or to fiction and poetry, as forming a noble intellectual brotherhood. . . ."2 The section of the country most active in this movement of cultural nationalism was the Northeast where leaders of the grand march to supremacy wished to compete with England in things cultural as well as industrial. Conveniently enough, the buzz of intellectual activity created a demand for new publishing houses and offered a new outlet for invested capital.

This religion which was preached in the name of the nation did not share, nor did it wish to share, its fruits with every section of the country. A cultural imperialism, based on the boasts of Yankee background, energy and inventiveness, grew up within the larger movement to advertise the nation. New England scholars, at mid-century, could demonstrate how America had become civilized through the medium of the New England mind. The "solid men of Boston" were destined to radiate their great culture to every section of the country. Industry, commerce, and improved methods of communication were to supplement outright migration in the appointed mission.

The Climate of Democracy

These were the principles and ideals, democratic in politics and liberal in religion, which found their way into library campaign and dedication literature from the very birth of the movement. As far back at 1815 Jesse Torrey drew upon the tradition of George Washington, Benjamin Rush, and Samuel Adams when he spoke for a "cause consecrated by religion and enjoined by patriotism," the "universal dissemination of knowledge and virtue by means of free pub-

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lic libraries.”³ The quasi-public subscription libraries, which were established in the period between Torrey’s early campaigns and the establishment of the first vigorous free institutions, were founded in part upon these assumptions. The school-district libraries were eminent testimony to the operation of these ideas.

Their fullest expression appeared in the literature of the first Massachusetts free town libraries. This was the institution which would have more regard for the moral and literary wants of the mass of the people than the existing class libraries which catered exclusively to limited numbers of scholars and proprietors. The people were to have a voice in this new free institution and they would see to it that they got what they wanted. The Boston library, it was said, was destined to rapid growth because, by force of the feeling of common ownership, local publishers, editors, and writers would deem it a pleasure to deposit their books in the public collection. The librarian, for his part, should follow the dictum of “the greatest use to the greatest number” in building his collection. For this was the glory of democracy—an institution accessible to the whole people, rich and poor alike, regardless of race and creed.⁴ The New Bedford interests echoed these sentiments and went on to point out the harmonizing influence this institution would have in communities where so many dividing factors were in operation.⁵

Many were the citations in ensuing years of the favorable effect of the mere climate of democracy on the growth of free libraries. Some emphasized the democratic act symbolized by library philanthropy; others, the political significance of this newly manifested desire on the part of the people to procure increased means of physical and intellectual welfare for themselves.⁶ Only rarely could a speaker explain away belated library activity on the grounds that the spirit of pure democracy would not have allowed the local voters to accept a gift with a clear conscience. Even to have left such a matter to the people’s representatives would have been a violation of the spirit. A popular vote had placed the decision directly in the hands of the people.⁷

Stressing the equality of educational opportunity afforded by public libraries, frequent reference was made to the biographies of self-improved intellectuals, scientists, inventors and political leaders to whom books had been a sole source of early instruction.⁸ Similarly, this fundamental equality had its parallel in the equal economic opportunity offered by American institutions, and it was this free source

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of knowledge which assisted individuals to climb upward in the economic scale. To complete the cycle, the erstwhile poor boys who had been helped to riches by free schools and libraries were already turning back some of their wealth to provide similar opportunities for a new generation.⁹

Equality was the theme again when Joshua Bates urged that library rooms provided for ordinary folk be as comfortable as those provided for the upper classes. The free library was to be an intellectual and literary common where the humblest and the highest would meet on equal terms just as they did at the polls. The library would promote the mutual acquaintance and friendship of all classes; it might even help prevent the dangerous divergence of interest of the wealthy and the poor.¹⁰ "Just in proportion to the degree of intellectual development to which the mass of people have attained, artificial distinctions have faded away (and) the people have become more and more homogeneous and more democratic. . . ." The only aristocracy a free library could possibly help to create was "one open to talent and toil . . . the aristocracy of knowledge."¹¹

Notwithstanding the very general form in which libraries were dedicated to freedom of religion and politics, the sectarian and party feuds which called the principles of liberty and equality into use were probably different in varying localities and circumstances. Channing pointed specifically to parties based on class consciousness as his chief concern when he called party spirit the bane of self-culture, the destroyer of "truth, justice, candor, fair dealing, sound judgment, self-control, and kind affections. . . ."¹² The donors of public libraries were not always as frank and clear.

George Peabody, the foundations of whose fortune had been laid in the South and who had many close personal associations there, forcefully mandated a northern beneficiary of one of his library gifts to eschew periodicals which encouraged sectional animosities. His gift to Baltimore was accompanied by a letter forbidding the "dissemination or discussion of sectarian theology or party politics. . . ."¹³ Gifts to Bernardston and West Brookfield in Massachusetts were both accompanied by similar restrictions as to religion and politics.¹⁴

Gerrit Smith's demand for the exclusion of "books unfriendly to truth and purity" probably arose, as one of his biographers claims, from a dogmatism which placed a fixed line between right and wrong and did not recognize degrees of truth and error. This rigid prescrip-

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tion may have been provoked by conservative opposition to rationalistic religious ideas to which Smith was much attracted, or by the threat of Papal power which grew more menacing as immigrants flooded our eastern shores and started to move inland. It may have been a part of his Jeffersonian insistence upon a "manly independent spirit of the people" in working out their own salvation on the basis of knowledge individually interpreted.¹⁵

The battle cry of freedom in New England and the promotion of libraries as weapons of the crusade were occasionally prompted by the threat of new religious beliefs and recently formed mass political parties. In New England towns of the period, Yankee Protestantism with its Federalist backgrounds was frequently on the defensive against Irish Catholicism and the Democratic Party which championed its cause. This antagonism was generally kept under cover by the "old" merchants and ministers because of the necessity to deal respectably with the "new" people in trade and politics. Occasionally the nativist defense mechanism—which it is claimed was more active than usual in periods of economic depression—broke loose with all the violence of a pent-up hatred suddenly released. On some levels the struggle was physical; on others it spent itself in bitter vituperation.

The will of Judge C. E. Forbes of Northampton was a classic attack of the latter kind. Forbes' testament declared that the collection of the library he was donating was to be gathered under broad democratic principles and was to contain all literary, scientific, historical and theological works with strict impartiality; further, "that none but laymen shall be competent to any employment, or fill any office or exercise any control in the management of the library." Considering that the ministry had always had its place on boards of trustees, this was a conspicuously radical directive to set down in a will. Nor was Forbes to be accused of rationalism, deism, or atheism; he was a member of the Congregationalist church and orthodox in his beliefs. His irrepressible fear of possible control by "new" elements was written down as a defense of intelligence and democracy:

It has been my aim to place within reach of the inhabitants of a town, in which I have lived long and pleasantly, the means of learning, if they are disposed to learn, the marvelous development of modern thought, and enable them to judge the destiny of the race on scientific evidence, rather than on metaphysical evidence alone. The importance of the education

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of the people cannot be overrated. It will be found the most efficient if not the only protection against the inroads of a foreign superstition, whose swarms of priests, Jesuits, monks, ministers and agents are let loose upon us, and engaged in the unholy work of enslaving the minds of the multitude, and moulding them into instruments of priestly power. A power built upon the remains of ancient paganism, and sustained in one particular at least by gross fetichism. A power growing out of a monstrous perversion of the precepts and example of the Founder of Christianity, by which poverty, lowliness and self-abnegation are forced to mean worldly grandeur, enormous wealth, a palace, absolutism and an earthly crown. As the contrast, so the antagonism must remain, between the enlightened freemen, and the progeny of the Purple and the Scarlet clad Mother. Let it be deeply graven on the mind, that no strictly Roman Catholic country ever was, or ever can be a free country.¹⁶

As was to be expected, Forbes' hostility to the ministry was roundly berated. It was difficult for the *Worcester Spy* to understand why the ministry—traditionally associated with books and learning—should have been peremptorily excluded from any participation in the management of a library. The *Holyoke Herald*, speaking the voice of humanitarian democracy, called public libraries a cold comfort for the anxieties of the poor over basic physical needs and declared that, in the prevention of crime, a housing program was more effective than all the public libraries in Christendom.

SPECIFIC CONDITIONS AND IDEAS

Religious Influences

From many points of view one finds himself in agreement with those of Forbes' critics who attacked his generalized proscription of the ministry. We can—without following one extreme interpretation which stresses the Unitarian adherence of George Ticknor, Enoch Pratt, and others in connection with concrete activity in the library movement¹⁷—point to much historical material which demonstrates great interest, and inferentially, considerable influence of progressive religionists in the library movement before mid-century. Whether the rationale was religious, moral, intellectual, literary, or anything else matters little when we witness the tremendous emphasis placed on books, reading habits and library needs in Unitarian periodicals particularly during the middle decades of the century.¹⁸ Nor were the important Methodist and Congregationalist organs devoid of materials urging the extension of democratic educational fa-

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cilities. The *Methodist Quarterly Review*, after devoting some space in 1841 to an enthusiastic endorsement of school-district libraries,¹⁹ seems to have abandoned the subject of libraries altogether. The *Congregational Quarterly* included in its first volume an excellent summary statement on the history of the Congregational Library Association²⁰ and thereafter confined itself to very brief notes on this project.

In several instances religious periodicals threw their weight behind the library movement in more direct fashion. As early as 1849 we find the *Christian Inquirer* quoting Charles Sumner to the effect that "Every sloop-of-war that floats costs more than the largest public library in our country." A year later this same periodical reprinted the *Boston Evening Transcript's* comments on Livermore's *North American Review* article on public libraries.²¹ In the following year it carried quotations from the Reverend Wight's manifesto on town libraries, and, in 1853, the Reverend Samuel Osgood's address on popular libraries delivered at the Librarian's Convention, New York City.²² Additional items on library catalogs, buildings, and other matters of popular interest must have given some impetus to the movement.²³

Our estimate of the contribution made by men of religion to the library movement should by no means be based solely upon their writings. Their more significant work is shown in the concrete local activities which both preceded the establishment of libraries and nurtured their early days. A religious group might turn its collection to public use. A pastor's wife might start a collection towards a free library. An influential minister might initiate a movement to establish a town library. And how numerous are the instances in which clergymen played their expected educational role in the community, serving as active members of boards of library trustees, making dedication speeches, and pronouncing benedictions upon newly organized free libraries? Then, too, one must not forget the spiritual auspices of some ancestors of the public library, viz., Y.M.C.A. and Sunday-school libraries. The latter, despite the many criticisms heaped upon them for the mediocre quality of their collections, certainly must be given due credit as purveyors of books to the people.²⁴

While it is reasonable to assume that the clergy of several sects must have resented the secular nature of the public library movement and therefore opposed it, we know (within the limits of our research) of only one instance in which a public library program was openly

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obstructed by the religious groups involved. This was the instance of the move to consolidate all quasi-public libraries in New York City in the last decade of the nineteenth century. In the early discussion on consolidation, the Jewish and Catholic library representatives were reluctant to lose their identities in a grand public library merger. However only the Cathedral (Catholic) Library people persisted in vigorous opposition, presenting their case in the following manner:

First, the Cathedral Library is church property, it would not, therefore be suitable to relinquish title to it. Second, if the New York Public Library is to assume complete control of the library administration of New York, we would have no representation on its board of trustees. From that point of view the consolidation would be unfortunate, as the preponderating—we may say the entire—interests of the present board of trustees are non-Catholic. Third, the purpose of our library would be destroyed by any such consolidation.

We were established in order to counteract the evil influences of public libraries in general, to supply people with innocuous reading, and to minimize as far as possible the harm that can be done by dangerous books. . . .²⁵

Among the historical materials which relate organized religion to the library movement we find an occasional reference to challenging sects and parties. Inasmuch as such reference is often oblique, it is difficult to determine in whose interest “national unity and power,” freedom, and our republican institutions were being preserved by public schools and public libraries.²⁶ The mention of a prodigious rate of population increase probably indicated an immigration problem. The words “fanaticism” and “ecclesiastical tyranny” certainly pointed to the challenge of a powerful church. The degree of autonomy of the local library, and the loose relationship between it and some state governments rendered this danger a real one. As late as 1914 the New York administrators of state aid to libraries had to explain that a free library was defined (by the Regents’ rules) “as one where all the people of the community, regardless of race, sex, religious belief, institutional or professional connections . . .” were welcome. However, aid to church libraries was not altogether out; for this same communication goes on to say,

We have in the past occasionally extended state aid to libraries in churches, but usually in small communities where there was but one

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church and the people were all of the same general faith. The tendency is away from the use of State money at the present time.²⁷

The Informed Voter

On the political front, the strongest threats to democracy were understood to be from ignorant classes who would vote for the wrong parties either because of their own untutored choice or because of the scheming leadership of city politicians. America would be the victim of its own humane spirit if it did not educate and inform its "illiterate blacks and foreign born." The European habit of thought which placed the lower orders in permanent ignorance and subjugation was ill-adapted to the American scene where the populace had already achieved political power and would misuse it unless given proper direction. Unless the correct books were put into the hands of the people, they would be easy prey for such false and foreign philosophies as were destructive of the foundations of our republic.²⁸

Moreover, democratic forms and their enunciation in speech and writing had a function far more positive than the defense of entrenched custom or privilege. Their most legitimate use was to carry forward and insure maximum operation of the government of the people, by the people, and for the people. Having made a complete break with the oppressions and injustices of the old world, the people, in whom the power now resided, must equip themselves "properly to decide the many social and political questions they frequently are called upon to solve." Where every individual thought and deed affected the social mechanism of the whole, it became the interest of the whole to provide the necessary education for its parts.²⁹ The primary recognition of this need seems to have resulted in early support of state libraries—and indeed the Library of Congress itself; adequate sources of information would assure the framing of good legislation. Provision for libraries in the constitutions of territorial governments probably stemmed from the same basic need.

The very fact that all vital political decisions rested with the voters either directly or through their representatives made it more urgent that we create a responsible citizenry; for any weaknesses in the bulwark of democracy would permit reactionary ideas to gain inroads into our institutions. Differences of opinion, which of necessity must arise in a complex society such as ours, had to be ironed out with intelligence and knowledge which books could help provide; the diffusion of intelligence would offset the activities of secret foes

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who sought to weaken the foundations of our system. Many a president of the United States had stated this view with emphasis.³⁰ As truly as Daniel Webster had called the little red school house the "sentry box of American liberty," so could the public libraries be called the "Arsenals of American Liberty."³¹

The logic which had operated so advantageously for the protagonists of publicly supported and controlled schools was recalled to action for the free library; viz., it was at once the obligation and protection of the state to have an informed body of present voters and future leaders. This principle, which would carry great weight even in the presence of a thoroughly educated electorate, was all the stronger in view of the fact that a huge majority of our people had not benefited from an education beyond the common school. Some had been prevented by economic circumstances; some had spent their youth in rural areas where the facilities of a higher schooling were not available; others had chosen the attractions of a business career at an extremely early age. The public library was a natural supplement to the common school in the realm of popular culture; it was a substitute for the town hall in the realm of political education.³² In periods of national crises, when either war³³ or political unrest³⁴ was testing the moral fiber of the people, the public library would constitute a steadying factor; it would supply the knowledge with which to temper emotional and intellectual ferment.

The Urban-Industrial Complex

The salutary influence of intellectual and scientific advances upon political forms does not tell the whole story of the new industrial era. Into the complete accounting must go the troublesome sociological problems which rose out of the transition from small-scale, semi-craft manufacturing to large-scale, machine industry. The masses of people who left their farms and intimate villages to run the big factories, developed needs and created problems which sorely taxed the existing institutions and created a demand for new ones. The concentration of capital in the hands of a few canny industrialists was temporarily favorable to the national economy but gave rise to an ever-swelling industrial proletariat whose poverty and degrading conditions of life manufactured social problems which big industrial philanthropy could not begin to solve. The humanitarians and—partly through their agitations—the state stepped in and applied communal resources to the problems which extreme

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individualism had created. Education and other public services were created to alleviate the lot of the urban producing classes.

Between 1840 and 1880 the populations of prominent mill towns in New England had either tripled or quadrupled. A few grew in even larger multiples.³⁵ The number and value of manufacturing establishments had increased in similar proportions. The employment requirements of the new mills were so great that ordinarily a market highly favorable to labor would have resulted; but, happily for the owners, the new mass-production machines were comparatively simple to operate and could be run by women and children. This circumstance, combined with the inability of the municipal social conscience to keep pace with rapid growth and change, added to the causes of poverty, slum-living and delinquency. Humanitarians attempted to mitigate these evils with schools, libraries, parks and other public facilities. (The full treatment of this subject is reserved for Chapter VI.)

The many groups which reacted to the evils of industrialism, whether their philosophies were rooted in idealism, rationalism, or socialism, all gave some thought to the amelioration of the lot of the working classes. The strong note of cooperative idealism which flavored the social thought of this period must have done much to prepare a climate favorable to public action for the betterment of the common man. The Owens, Robert and Robert Dale, and Albert Brisbane taught America much about the social perfectionism of Saint Simon and Fourier. Fanny Wright preached the rights of women and broadcast the basic tenets of a rational, democratic society. Josiah Warren and Stephen Pearl Andrews advertised anarchist doctrines. The Communist Manifesto was imported and translated into American terms. Transcendentalism, disillusioned by the meager accomplishments of America's limitless potential, withdrew from the "strife, injustice, ignorance, and philistinism," and in its seclusion taught how individual worth and dignity could be preserved in a cooperative society. After 1865 the religion of humanity of Walter Rauschenbusch; the labor philosophies of William H. Sylvis, Ira Steward and Terence Powderly; and the new rationalism of Henry George, Frank Lester Ward, and Edward Bellamy lent their weight to the struggle against rugged individualism.

The emphasis of the literature of these movements on the importance of education and self-culture is clear and unmistakable; but their influence on the public library movement was small and in-

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direct. The explanation is that these philosophies, affected as they were by the extremely individualistic motif of their time, were all, excepting neo-rationalism, opposed to the extension of governmental power over the operations of the individual; and educational agencies functioning under government authority were conceived by many to be such an extension of power.

William Maclure, the geologist and philanthropist who is closely associated in American social thought with the New Harmony Community, was extremely distrustful of the motives of the "classes who live by the ignorance of the millions." His blanket bequest of funds for the benefit of libraries and reading rooms of workingmen's institutes was based on the premise that laborers constituted the only class which could and would use knowledge for the benefit of society.³⁶ Similar feelings and suspicions with regard to state power probably prevented the labor movement of the postwar period from supporting the free library movement in the spirit which fired trade unionists of an earlier period to support the struggle for free schools. Labor in the era of big capital was instructed to stay away from the humanitarian representations of the state as well as those of individuals. The worker learned to depend upon self-advancement by fellowship, mutual aid, and cooperative methods.

The real ideological force which fostered the public libraries must be looked for in those islands of communal spirit which rose out of the political and religious backgrounds of democratic America and persisted amid the powerful currents of rugged individualism. This was the spirit of common humanity which fostered abolition, women's rights, the peace movement, prison reform, the mitigation of severe penalties for crime, and the establishment of institutions for the care of the afflicted.

If one should seek a social group which gave the free library direct support he would probably discover that it was a group whose interests were least directly associated with those of the ordinary folk for whom the libraries were primarily opened. The assumption of individualism made by this group permeated every aspect of its life and sought elaborate justification in current intellectual theory. In religion, it believed the individual to be the fundamental moral agent and used the gospel of wealth formulation as its chief instrument for maintaining the *status quo*. In economics, it taught that individual intelligence and ability would win the material prizes of life; that poverty was a temporary status which would soon be overcome

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by the capable. At any rate, the government must leave the individual's hands free in the economic sphere. Its scientific rationale was a cunning adaptation of the Darwinian hypothesis. The divine right to acquire and defend property was adequately developed by James McCosh, Noah Porter, and Mark Hopkins and shielded by the intellectual prestige of their positions. Carnegie himself elaborated the "law" of competition and the economic applications of the Darwinian struggle for existence. He also gave secular authority to the gospel of wealth.

The secret of how conservative businessmen readily accepted a doctrine so subversive as Darwinism was to accustomed patterns of thought, is revealed in the slogan "evolution, not revolution." In the process of natural selection, nothing but a man's own deficiencies would prevent him from winning the struggle. When humanitarian workers attacked the wealthy for the existence of poverty-ridden slums, they could be told that such conditions were the natural result of ignorance and shiftlessness. Were not the rich engaged daily in furnishing free popular libraries so that all latent talents and abilities would realize their highest potential development? Of course these institutions had other services to perform. They helped educate productive hands; they would probably endorse and reinforce the views held by donors; they satisfied the need of businessmen for public recognition and also provided reading materials with which the underdog could sublimate his hunger for prestige, power and security.³⁷

Various and sundry were the possible impacts of city life under the new industrialism upon the public library movement. By one interpretation, the mere tempo of the new life—with its easier, swifter communications, and the necessity for a larger fund of information to perform the daily business of living—demanded newer instrumentalities for the diffusion of knowledge.³⁸ To some the use of public money for library service went hand in hand with the efforts of humane government to improve living conditions. This analysis would place public libraries on the list of public functions which urgent sociological factors forced municipal administrations to perform. Uniformed police, city fire brigades, departments of health and sanitation, public highways and parks, and free libraries are lumped together in this interpretation. However, an examination of the chronological relationship between the assumption of these duties by city governments and the opening of local free libraries

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shows no intelligible correlation.³⁹ The fact that very large cities of the middle states assumed the obligations of public health and protection at a very early date, and yet did not support libraries until the closing years of the nineteenth century presumably rules out the usefulness of this analysis.

The existence of more pertinent factors is indicated. General regional attitudes toward public education were probably a crucial factor. The problems raised by large immigrant populations have already been noted. The possession of surplus wealth by a generous dominant group was obviously of great consequence. The fact that in 1850 the total taxable personal estate in New York and Pennsylvania combined was one hundred million dollars less than that of New England, although the population of the latter region was half that of the two middle states named,⁴⁰ suggests an extremely interesting comparison between the rates at which libraries were established. Instances of taxpayers' resistance to library appropriations were rare in the Northeast. The growth of cities in population, industry and wealth naturally brought with it "increased demands upon the citizens for additional conveniences and improvements." The more complex urban society became, the more numerous were the intellectual and social institutions which were established.⁴¹

It was generally understood that a town which failed to educate its population would fall behind in the race for business supremacy.⁴² Although isolated instances exist where there was appeal to local pride in the name of history and tradition,⁴³ in practically every other case there was a frank concern for a prosperity which rival cities were seeking to destroy. Boston's claim to being "the most intelligent and cultivated city in America" rested on the successful activities of its businessmen and the solid reading done by its inhabitants.⁴⁴ So, too, the reputation of New Bedford was associated bilaterally with municipal prosperity and cultural activity.⁴⁵ For some years, the presence of the Astor Library satisfied the local pride of New Yorkers; but they soon became aware that their institution was a counterfeit of the real popular library. Such public libraries were a good thing for all communities but "more especially," said the historian de Peyster, should they be concentrated "in a city like ours, which is the commercial emporium of the New World!"⁴⁶

In the days when smaller cities were competing to attract investment money to local business and real estate, the public library was a feature on a par with light, water and sewer systems;⁴⁷ for capital

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was attracted where symptoms and evidences of growth stood forth. The science of social economy affirmed the obvious claim, made by the Rev. John B. Wight before the Massachusetts legislature, that increased rentals and property values were concomitant with the focusing of commercial and intellectual activity in well-populated cities.⁴⁸ As a research student working at the end of the nineteenth century concluded, among the social causes of urban growth were the advantages offered by cities to prospective migrants. The categories of social advantage listed were educational facilities, amusements, a high standard of living, and intellectual associations. Public libraries made a contribution in each of these categories. The public library was placed under the standard-of-living category in an environment as follows:⁴⁹ "Then there are conveniences to be had in the city which in many cases could not be obtained in the country, on account of the small numbers to bear the heavy expenses. . . . The field of municipal activity has been constantly widening, until now the city furnishes its residents not only parks and playgrounds, but museums, *libraries* and art galleries; not only hospitals, but baths and wash-houses, municipal lodging houses and model tenements. . . ." Once there was a sufficient number of public libraries already established in neighboring or competing towns, this fact would be, in fact was, used to goad a town administration into action.⁵⁰

By a curious contradiction of social forces, the same libraries which were being used to attract people from the villages to the cities were also sought for towns and villages in an effort to keep the population in smaller political units. The same groups which were reaping the economic advantages of concentrated manpower soon began to sense perilous political consequences.

The tendency of population to aggregate in great centers is by all conceded to be one of the most unwholesome symptoms of modern society. In our country it is a tendency fraught with peculiar perils, for no man can doubt that the permanence of our social and political institutions is largely dependent not only on the wide diffusion of wealth among individuals, but on the territorial diffusion of political power. Whatever transfers political power from the country to the city, from a population that is scattered, stable, conservative to a population densely massed, easily moved, ready to be manipulated by designing leaders is a long step towards a political revolution. Whatever tends to make the heated atmosphere of great cities attractive to the most intelligent and energetic part

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of our population is silently tending to bring about a change which can hardly fail at length to reconstruct the whole fabric of American society.⁵¹

REACTIONS OF THE LIBRARY PROFESSION

Librarians of the last quarter of the nineteenth century, busy though they were with building book collections and developing bibliographic technics, still had time to do a little missionary work of their own. Even where democratic ideas made none too deep an impression, professional aggrandizement demanded that homage be paid to the people's philosophy. In their attempts to fight, wheedle or otherwise influence reluctant taxpayers, library missionaries sometimes offered the prospect of material prosperity and compensating rises in real-estate values.⁵² However, the literature of the profession—and library practice (cf. Chap. XI) as well—adhered closely to the abstract principles of democracy. Emphasis was placed on the democratic conception of the public library as to purpose, source of authority, and control.⁵³ The future of democracy, the very political and industrial future of the nation, were said to depend upon a system of popular education. A librarian's axiom read: ". . . popular liberty and intellectual intelligence go hand in hand with manufacturing industry."⁵⁴

It was not enough to show how progressive and political idealism had fostered the public library.⁵⁵ The taxpayer had to be aroused to a genuine enthusiasm for that *sine qua non* ". . . public treasure which so reasonably demands to be kept and cared for and distributed for common enjoyment at common cost."⁵⁶ Anyone who was willing to contribute toward the common defense, must also be willing to share in the defense of the republic—and of civilization itself—against the perpetual menace of ignorance.⁵⁷ There was a certain finality in declarations which placed the library alongside sanitation, street lighting, public parks and hospitals as minimum social services which a democratic society owed itself. The backwardness of the South in establishing libraries was attributed to the aristocratic tradition; it was unmistakably true that that section of our nation was slow in learning the democratic principles of cooperation for education purposes.⁵⁸

The sectless, classless character of free libraries was thoroughly exploited by librarians in the effort to raise their institution to the level of public favor enjoyed by the public schools. Little is known either of the pressures which were probably applied in small com-

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munities to exclude upsetting theories from library shelves, or of the reactions of individual librarians to "suggestions" offered by men and women of local importance. The organized profession did however speak boldly in one outstanding instance of political meddling where the professional and economic interests of a highly respected librarian were at stake. The Boston Board of Aldermen had tampered with the salary schedule of librarian Justin Windsor without even consulting the trustees of the Public Library. Although the battle was waged in the name of the right of the people to efficient and unhampered library management, other ideas crept into the picture. The public library stood forth as a barricade against such challenges to civilization as the "demagogism" behind railroad strikes and the ignorance of city politicians; for "Light is always the one cure for darkness, and every book that the public library circulates helps to make Alderman O'Brien and railroad rioters impossible."⁵⁹

In general the profession's reaction to social conflicts indicates that it had not yet discerned where its strongest support lay. On the one hand, wealth had shown itself to be favorably disposed by erecting library buildings and by contributing funds for other purposes; on the other, the voting populace had demonstrated its power to vote libraries into being. The most advantageous position to assume, therefore, was a neutrality which favored liberal principles. Librarians were to make themselves cognizant of all matters affecting public interest without entering into local politics personally.⁶⁰ It was perfectly proper, though, to denounce editorially the aggressions of a reactionary French ministry against popular libraries.⁶¹

On the home front the profession showed a great deal of concern over the sharpening consciousness of class aims which was coming to the surface in American society toward the end of the century. One function of the librarian, as he saw it, was to blunt the edge of these differences and to provide a means whereby the rich and poor could live happily side by side. The public library was a great leveler, supplying a literature by which the ordinary man could experience some of the pleasures of the rich, and providing a common ground where employer and employee could meet on equal terms.⁶² That librarians did not remark this fraternization of "boss" and worker outside the shop as frequently as did the trustees in their reports, was probably indicative of the hypothetical nature of this meeting of the classes. A librarian at the Astor labeled "entirely

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fanciful" the idyllic picture of the capitalist and mechanic sitting next to each other in the reading room.⁶³

The latter decades of the nineteenth century, marked as they were by some of the most serious strikes in our national history and by an increasing dissemination of socialistic doctrines, provided an opportunity for the profession to sell its agency as a steadying social force. Whatever threat to democratic government might come out of these struggles could certainly be warded off by the spread of ". . . the knowledge of the learned, the wisdom of the thoughtful, (and) the conscience of the upright."⁶⁴ By continuing the educational process where the schools left off⁶⁵ and by conducting a people's university, a wholesome, capable citizenry would be fully schooled in the conduct of a democratic life. Melvil Dewey gave solemn warning with regard to a reading public which was doing the wrong kind of reading: "To teach the masses to read and then to turn them out in early youth with this power and no guiding influence, is only to invite catastrophe . . . the world agrees that it is unwise to give sharp tools and powerful weapons to the masses without some assurance of how they are to be used."⁶⁶

Though it was agreed that the public library should be a democratic guide to the political and social problems of the twentieth century, there was no consensus as to how such guidance should be put into practice. For instance, the public library was a preserver of democracy whenever, through mass education, it combated the vicious influence of a mercenary press. For a while—during the early years of the daily press—the newspaper had been looked upon as a wholesome medium of mass education; but, when the Pulitzers and Hearsts began to make capital of public ignorance and vulgarity, librarians thought it time to administer an antidote. They realized that a clean, purposeful press was possible "only under circumstances of disinterestedness which were not likely to exist."⁶⁷

There were times, moreover, when the profession overshot the mark in attempting to impress the civic value of its performance upon taxpaying masters. One librarian observed that the well-to-do, satisfied with the *status quo*, were less in the habit of entering upon "troublesome investigations" than were those who had experienced privation.⁶⁸ The idea was also advanced that the public library taught the workingman to distinguish his own real interests from "such sham reforms as are brought before them by so-called labor leaders."⁶⁹

Democratic Strivings

One over-zealous patriot felt discouraged because of a strong trend exhibited by readers toward research on subjects like heraldry, genealogy and imperialism.⁷⁰

The slogan "Loyalty to City and Country" epitomized another of the aims and functions of the public library in promoting citizenship. The people should learn well the laws under which they lived so that they might serve their country's interests most effectively.⁷¹ Where could they do so more easily than in their free libraries? Further, by supplying reading matter concerned with the history of American independence and the march of democracy, the public library could inculcate patriotic memories, "each of which is a pledge to the nation of unity, prosperity and peace." This service would certainly win the gratitude of patriotic societies which could later be counted upon to help strengthen local-history collections.⁷²

The profession evidently concerned itself seriously with the civic education of foreign-born populations in cosmopolitan centers. There was a patent weakness in giving the new citizen the ballot—which he had not enjoyed in his native country—without giving him also the means of developing an intelligence with which to direct its use. Librarians repeatedly attested to the fact that their institutions were widely patronized by avid foreign-born readers who were learning for the first time about our history and ideals.⁷³ When the problem arose of supplying reading matter in languages which immigrants could read, librarians parted company with the super-patriots. If reading in foreign languages tended to engender tender feelings for countries other than their own, a kindly library reception, graced by familiar materials, would build gratitude and loyalty, thus nullifying any other undesirable effects. The library had an Americanizing function; but you could not Americanize the foreign born without reaching them.⁷⁴ This was the spirit in which public librarians approached many of their problems of administration and technic: if you would educate people with books, you must ease the way for them by removing barriers which in the past had made libraries unapproachable.

The major ideological currents of this period were directed toward producing a unified nation based on the free informed choice of individuals rather than on measures of indoctrination in behalf of any particular group. As it happened there was a fairly close identity

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among the requirements of national prosperity, the needs of the new dominant industrial middle class, and the tenets of flourishing individualistic philosophies. Divisive tendencies, having their origins in prejudices of race, section, nationality, creed and class, were present indeed. It was hoped that these could be eased, or perhaps erased, by establishing agencies of enlightenment for adult and youth alike.

Chapter 5. THE LIBRARY'S FUNCTION AS AN EDUCATOR OF THE PEOPLE

THE PRINTED PAGE

THE WELL-INTEGRATED, SMOOTHLY OPERATING SOCIAL ORGANISM of nineteenth-century America came to be cherished by a large, satisfied, confident middle class. All aspects of our national culture—political, economic, technologic, religious, and educational—participated in that grand symphony which Andrew Carnegie called "Triumphant Democracy." Such a society, for successful operation, demanded the broadest diffusion of all kinds of knowledge. As if some coordinating master hand arranged it, this need was now fulfilled by cheaper, faster, and improved printing.

The paper market, expanded by improved processes, new materials and power resources and undisturbed by tariffs such as were keeping the British supply at a low level, was prepared to play its part in the mass distribution of the printed word well before mid-century. The mills which had been concentrated in Pennsylvania began to appear in other states. Within a fifty-year span from the beginning of the nineteenth century to its midpoint, the paper-manufacturing center moved to Massachusetts, where both the cultural climate and the river sites were found to be extremely favorable to mass production.

The same revolution in technology which increased the supply of good paper also brought changes into the art of printing. By the time the first municipal public libraries were under way, the power press was already in general use and cylinder presses came into being not long afterward. Where the invention of printing made possible the formation of a few private and institutional libraries in its time, power printing brought the book to persons of small means and rendered practical the establishment of well-rounded public library collections in thousands of American communities. The direct effect of

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an ample supply of books, however, was probably not an outstanding one in the history of free libraries. It must be considered as a causative factor only in an ancillary sense, giving support and supplement to our common schools, to the requirements of our political system, to the necessities of economic progress, to innovations in science and technology, to the complex of ideas and movements which stimulated our traditional reading habit, and to the growing nationalism which observed and encouraged the appearance of a native literature.

The Americans were indeed a reading people as foreign observers in the United States—and American visitors abroad—frequently remarked; however, had it not been for the technological and business developments in book manufacturing and the great variety of intellectual and literary stimuli which arrived upon the scene in the nineteenth century, the press output might long have been restricted to a limited field of religious, professional and school texts. As it happened, the output of legal and medical books remained comparatively stationary between 1820 and 1850, whereas production in other categories was at least doubled. In the textbook field, expansion was directly influenced by the work of prominent educators in expanding common-school systems, in improving schoolbooks both as to content and make-up, and in the introduction of new subjects such as geography and history into the public elementary schools. Public high schools teaching history, chemistry, geology, and the various branches of "natural" and "moral" philosophy also made extensive demands on the textbook press.¹

Religious writing in this period expanded in two distinct and, one might almost say, antagonistic directions. The more liberal of the divines, in departing from the narrower conceptions of religious belief, diverted a good part of their energies to such secular fields as education, political science, literature and philosophy.² A few, finding it impossible to remain within the confines of belief, no matter how liberally construed, turned to lecturing and writing. The interest created by this branching into fields of immediate and vital interest by men trained in religion doubtless made our people even more print-conscious than they had been before and, in doing so, contributed to the forces which created the free library.

The reaction to this threatened secularization of American life produced a literature to which—if the quantity of materials distributed is any indication—must be attributed some part in America's habituation to reading.³ This literature, which appeared

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as inexpensive, readable, religious and moral tracts, was published from 1814 to 1825 by various "tract societies" established for this purpose; afterwards, publishing activities were centralized by a merger of these societies into the American Tract Society. In the battle to revive in modified form the spirit of Calvinistic orthodoxy, these tracts were used as weapons of attack upon many fronts. There were tracts for the irreligious, the indifferent, the intemperate and the "immoral." Attacks were launched against atheists, deists, Unitarians and "Romish" Catholics.⁴ In order to avoid influencing only those who were already convinced, it was prescribed that a tract must be, among other things, both arresting and entertaining. Narrative, fiction, and dialogue were naturally employed to accomplish this end. Writers of children's stories, and contemporary men of literature were invited to make contributions. The basic requirement to be met in all these writings was the making of a strong case, by implication or otherwise, for morality, temperance, and religion—in the "accepted" Protestant form. Indicative of opinion among "tractarians" was their consistent attack upon popular fiction of the day. Walter Scott and Maria Edgeworth were among many contemporary novelists under fire for being antireligious or for writing in such a way as to make religion appear unnecessary.⁵

The influence this mass of tract publications may have had on the public library movement is impossible to measure. They doubtless were of great value in building the reading habit in America by virtue of their small cost to the reader. The missionary character of tract salesmen helped considerably to get wide distribution. Here and there in small towns tract libraries appeared as an obvious economy device for groups of tract readers: under this arrangement many tracts could be read for the cost of one. Sabbath-school libraries were also natural repositories for moral and temperance tracts. Yet, all in all, it must be inferred that tract publishing societies were of little consequence in hastening the mid-century library movement.

AGENCIES OF ADULT EDUCATION

On the other hand, a real stimulus to the establishment of public and quasi-public libraries may be seen in the young men's institutes and lyceums which were born in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. This downward extension of cultural democracy was effected by the workingman's desire for self-realization by sharing in

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the new science and technology. "The interest and sympathy of certain middle-class intellectuals was also a telling factor."⁶

The Lyceum

Although the manner in which young men's mechanics' and mercantile institutes evolved their libraries and, in many instances, laid the actual foundations for free town libraries, is well known,⁷ the part played by lyceums in the nineteenth century is not. Among the announced purposes of lyceums and the advantages to be gained from them, was generally a provision dealing with stimulating reading, calling neglected libraries into use, and establishing new ones.⁸ The early literature of the American Lyceum and closely related cultural movements spoke of the pooling of magazine and newspaper subscriptions as a possible basis for the formation of public book collections. Occasionally specific mention was made of valuable libraries which lyceums maintained for their members. "In some instances," it was reported, "these (libraries) have been formed anew, and, in others, a union has been effected with social libraries already existing—an arrangement which it is believed, will be found profitable to both parties."⁹ By no means, however, could the lyceum's library activities be deemed sufficient to assign to the lyceum a role in the public library movement such as has been suggested by the educational historian, Edwin Grant Dexter, writing at the turn of the present century.¹⁰ What we observe here is rather a cultural adaptation in which the lyceum assumed the form of the lecture platform. A social need, that of acquainting a newly liberated populace with expanded knowledge in the natural and social sciences, was being fulfilled by an institutional form whose original purposes were in the main to popularize the need for better public schools and to spread the practical findings of natural science to villages and farms. Self-improvement was the order of the day.

The lyceum—with the lecture platform proper, the young men's associations and institutes, the flourishing book and magazine publishing business, the adult and evening schools, and later the public library itself—was merely one of the instruments of adult education evolved in a period of general social turmoil. This was the period which experienced simultaneously such political and social influences as an expanded ballot, the upsurge of labor, the bid for women's rights, the antislavery movement, an expansion of manufactures, finance and investment, and a development of canals and railways.

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Large populations were on the move from Europe to America, from the East to the West, from the country to the town. Religion and science were also in a state of flux. Small wonder that lecturers from platform and printed page were eagerly sought by the mass in its effort to resolve the instability of the times.¹¹

Chautauqua

The next formal movement in adult education to seize the imagination of educators was Chautauqua, whose success dates from the early 1870's. Here was an institutional pattern which held the promise of making higher education available to rich and poor, to people of all occupations and professions, to dwellers in all manner of places large and small without requiring them to leave their homes except, perhaps, for a very short period of time. Even diplomas and degrees were to come within the reach of people who lived in "towns too small to support a lyceum or library."¹² Notwithstanding the sanguine expectations of many high ranking university men, Chautauqua never penetrated below the comfortable middle classes.¹³ Moreover, any attempt to link this movement with the free library cannot withstand even a casual critical examination. The study method of Chautauqua, far from involving a free choice of books in a broad study program, relied for the most part upon the mastery of a few textbooks its participants were expected to purchase.¹⁴ It was doubtless for this reason that the library profession paid scant attention to its supposed ally and made only brief reference to it even when the American Library Association held its annual session in 1898 on the home grounds of the Chautauqua movement. Beyond a formal address by Bishop John Heyl Vincent on the aims and accomplishments of Chautauqua and a few words by Herbert Putnam—then president of the American Library Association—in closing his convention address, little was said concerning an alliance between the public library and the Chautauqua movement.¹⁵ Chautauqua, reciprocating the neglect, made little mention of the libraries through the many years that it published its official organ, the *Chautauqua*.

University Extension

The University Extension movement, on the other hand, held a position of great esteem among librarians; its own partisans recognized the high value of free public libraries in the adult education process. Perhaps the most complete formulation of the university ex-

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tension idea was that of Herbert Baxter Adams of Johns Hopkins University. Adams' plan was based on the adaptation of successful features of educational technics tried elsewhere. The approach he suggested to the university teachers and librarians was a judicious choice of the best elements of the German seminar method, the popular lectures which had been organized in large towns and manufacturing districts by British university men, the Workingman's Institute which Johns Hopkins University had established in nearby Canton, and the special meeting rooms which the librarians at Providence and Worcester were providing for classes and clubs.¹⁶ The role assigned to public libraries as their part in the movement was vigorously outlined by Adams himself:

The thought of higher education for the people through libraries, which are the highest of high schools, is in the air and sooner or later it will find lodgement in all our great towns and cities. It is not enough to connect public libraries with the work of public schools. You must connect your institutions with the educational wants of the people. There should be in every great community organized instruction, through public libraries, for the graduates of public schools, for persons past the school age, for mechanics and working classes in general. Desultory reading and individual use of the public library are not sufficient. There must be methodic and continuous work under proper guidance. There must be concentration of energy on the part of both readers and managers in our public libraries.¹⁷

The pattern of adult education in a democracy, demanding a free flow and interchange of ideas, naturally found the free library a perfect instrument; and librarians responded with an enthusiastic co-operation which left little to be desired.¹⁸ It was librarian Melvil Dewey, whose activities in multitudinous educational and library services brought him the secretaryship of the New York State Board of Regents, who induced his state legislature to appropriate ten thousand dollars toward the furtherance of extension work. It was he who actively encouraged the interest of the University of the State of New York in its home education and university extension divisions.¹⁹ Nor was Dewey's attitude an exception to the prevailing ones of nineteenth-century librarianship. The profession was ever eager to hear papers and discussions on such educational innovations as the free lecture movement (in New York City and elsewhere), the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences, home study plans, club activities, and other "self-improvement" programs.

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For a thoroughly developed thesis—from a librarian's point of view—on the social advantages of university extension we turn to Josephus Nelson Larned. Larned's belief that "more and more" education was the best assurance of a just, free, democratic commonwealth was nowhere in better evidence than in his ideas on university extension.²⁰ Not having had university training himself, he explained that his attitude at the time he was prepared to enter an institution of higher learning was that "the college seemed hopeless and inaccessible—placed among the luxuries of life, for a favored few." For whatever reason, whether it was the public's condescending attitude toward higher education as being largely "theoretical," or whether it was economic incapacity, it was certainly obvious that very few young men got an opportunity for higher education.

Women's Clubs and Women's Rights

Perhaps the best contribution made by women to the library movement was their eagerness to use the facilities of public libraries. In a society which as yet provided little opportunity for women to continue their education beyond the common school, it was little wonder that library managements observed large percentages of their borrowers to be female. It was as if in gratitude that women's organizations, once strong enough to be an active force in their communities, expended a good deal of their strength in furthering the cause of public libraries. However, one finds it difficult to accept the thesis that women's clubs constituted the "push" of the movement. The real function of the women's organizations in the public library movement was rather to crusade in small towns which were tardy in supporting a library, to stir up interest in slow states by lobbying for legislation, and to carry the movement to recently settled or educationally backward parts of the country. The last decade of the nineteenth century found women's organizations feverishly campaigning for free libraries in the Middle and Far West and, at the very end of the century, trying to stir up interest in the South.

More important than these areas of interpenetration between the women's rights and public library movements was the opportunity for employment offered by rapidly expanding library systems. Such opportunities were the more remarkable to travelers from abroad to whom the woman librarian had been entirely unknown.²¹ This was one of the very few professions into which women were welcomed and allowed to participate in its creative aspects. As the *Na-*

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tional Labor Tribune said, "The peculiar suitability among the professions of that of librarian for women is evident to all, and women have not been slow to perceive it themselves."²² Women rose to administrative positions in large libraries; women became teachers in library training schools; women delivered professional papers and held office in the American Library Association. "If the creative faculty is not a possession of woman," remarked the *Critic*, "something very like it had been shown by some of these lady librarians in the ingenious and skillful development of their work; especially along the lines of missionary effort to carry the library to those who will not come to it, this in fact being the marked tendency of the times in the public library movement."²³

Although the right of women to study for and practice the library profession on an equal basis with men was never seriously challenged, we cite two instances in which the issue was raised. The first occurred in Melvil Dewey's tenure as head of the school for librarianship at Columbia University. Dewey admitted women to his classes in violation of the Columbia trustees' regulations and moved his school to Albany rather than yield on this point.²⁴ The second was in connection with the choice of Mary S. Cutler to head the American Library Association's Columbian Exposition committee. In reaffirming its position in the face of criticism, the American Library Association declared its selection of Miss Cutler to be "our recognition of woman's part in American librarianship."²⁵

THE LIBRARY AND THE PUBLIC SCHOOL

The Superstructure of a Free System of Education

With practically the entire burden of adult education still resting on private shoulders at mid-century, a line of reasoning had to be constructed for the purpose of both securing and maintaining for free public libraries the interest and support of legislatures. The only precedents available for citation were evening schools and school-district libraries. The former were themselves of comparatively recent creation but the latter had operated long enough to arouse grave doubts as to their meriting public funds. The much-admired and well-supported New England school system was therefore established as the base of library campaign operations.

When Edward Everett wrote to the Mayor of Boston in 1851 regarding "moderate cooperation" of the city government toward the

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maintenance of a public library, it was already clear that a city like Boston could not be adequately served with books if it depended upon either the haphazard largesse of the city fathers or the periodic philanthropy of substantial businessmen. The approach Everett used was to point to the outstanding position occupied by Boston in the matter of school support. Stressing the basic principle of equality under which these funds were spent to provide "for giving our children of both sexes a good education up to the age of 16 or 17," he went on to show how the democratic premise of equality broke down after school-leaving. "The sons of the wealthy alone have access to well-stored libraries; while those whose means do not allow them to purchase books are too often debarred from them at the moment when they would be most useful. We give them an elementary education, impart to them a taste and inspire them with an earnest desire for further attainment, which unite in making books a necessity of intellectual life, and then make no provision for supplying them."²⁶

This was a keynote for public library protagonists from early committee reports to later state-aid agitations. How handsome was financial support for free public schools! How small the sum needed for free libraries! How could you then sow the seeds of knowledge only to allow the infant plants to die for want of nutriment?²⁷ To make a stronger case for using tax funds for libraries, educators and librarians began to stress the public library's function as an adjunct to the public school as distinct from the part it played in supplementing the work of free education. Advantages of libraries to teachers in the improvement of their performance as well as benefits to pupils in enhancing their learning process were set forth against the arguments of those who questioned the right to tax for this so-called amusement of the people. There was no doubt, opponents were advised, as to the "legality and equity of the use of public funds for the education of children in the public schools through the instrumentality of the public library."²⁸ The library profession, however, preferred in most cases to describe their own institution as an independent educational agency coordinate with, rather than subsidiary to, the public school. For, in addition to the normal taxpayer opposition, the profession had also to contend with those who belittled the bibliothecal art and who were inclined more or less to look upon the librarian as a clerk. There were many then as now who had to be educated to the idea that a library was a full-time educational

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institution, that a librarian was a full-fledged educator "side by side with the preachers and the teachers."²⁹

However much the champions of free libraries might want to justify tax support by bringing the library idea functionally closer to an already accepted state service, the real place which the library was originally intended to take was that of a people's university. In report after report trustee opinion at the pioneering libraries of Boston and New Bedford returned to thoughts of education throughout life, of practical knowledge for artisan and professional, of a successfully operating democracy through informed judgment and choice, of equal opportunity through equal access to books. The spirit of participation in the social whole by all of its parts, the capacity of all for new thoughts and lofty aspirations, were celebrated in annual reports to the people's lawmakers. The idea that everyone could profit from further education was borrowed by the library interests in the formulation of their philosophy.³⁰

The nub of the argument was: After the public school, what then? Rudimentary knowledge and skills had been imparted. Some desirable tastes may have been created. It was now urgent to build a workable superstructure upon the basic framework which the common school had already built. Somehow, the mass of the people, not all of whom had economic or intellectual ability sufficient to participate in existing institutions of higher education, had to be provided with the means of personal development. It was the possibility of a practicable and economic "elective course of study at will and thru life" which caught the imagination of many educators, publicists and humanitarians and made them allies of the public library movement.³¹ It was this social service upon which the librarians based their claims for increased support and elevated status. The high schools and colleges of the people were certainly deserving of higher public esteem than that implied by the common notion that free libraries were book dispensaries manned by counter clerks.

Common Interests

While many public statements were justifying the free library by tying it securely to the free school, others were constructing a relationship of mutual criticism and assistance between the two educational agencies.³² Obviously the reading of books would stimulate the recollection of what had been learned at school but had since been forgotten. It would furnish important fields of knowledge over-

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looked by an incomplete school curriculum. The public library moreover offered as its primary contribution the shaping of unformed and of ill-formed tastes in things cultural. Fortunately most educational and library interests did not subscribe to the view that a public which preferred Charles Reade to Thackeray and Mrs. Southworth to Mrs. Browning was depraved³³ and could not be saved by a process of weaning. The thesis they held—as we shall see more fully in our discussion of book-selection theory and practice—was quite contrary to that of eternal damnation for the unschooled adult.

The cheap literature against which library folk campaigned side by side with educational and other public forces, was of the lurid, sensational variety which was at the time holding the interest of a literate but nonliterary public.³⁴ Notwithstanding contemporary differences of opinion as to what was pernicious, exciting and vicious in the literature of the day, there was a confluence of opinion at one point. Here all forces joined to insist upon free libraries and reading rooms which might provide wholesome and profitable books as an implementation for reading skills and tastes acquired in the public day and evening schools. Again, however dubious we of a later century may be about the criteria involved in Victorian evaluations of works of fiction, we must recognize that this announced attempt to raise the general reading level did attract educational leaders to the library movement. Their interest in curbing harmful reading naturally raised the question of supplying good reading. This, of course, was the task to which the public library was dedicating itself on many a ceremonial occasion.

The Public School from the Library Point of View

Proceeding as it did chronologically with a re-examination of educational methods, the public library movement brought into sharper focus the weaknesses and failures of schoolteaching and supervision. For the failure of educational systems to produce a higher level of cultural aspiration among their graduates was a symptom of serious flaws in fundamental principles and approaches. Library protagonists did not refrain from pointing out those weaknesses which were particularly germane to the educational functions which libraries were attempting to perform. The fact was that children were being taught to read loudly and eloquently but without understanding; that the worship of grammatical rules and technicalities hindered

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rather than helped in the understanding and appreciation of language.³⁵ Further, dependence on the memorization of facts, texts, and rules—often beyond the comprehension of the age level at which learning was forced—was so discouraging to children that they were left without interest in any reading but the spectacular. This type of teaching could never produce a population “to such an extent lovers of literature . . . to such an extent seekers after healthy and manly intellectual growth, that they shall in this respect continue through life to regard themselves as children and, aided by the school at the Free Public Library, never cease to be scholars until they shall cease to exist.”³⁶

Dissatisfied with the accomplishments of prevailing methods of teaching, schoolmen in state boards of education, city school superintendents, and many others in positions of educational authority were quite willing to agree with the criticisms offered by public library interests. Moreover, they were ready to stand behind any movement which aimed to widen the scope of the people's reading, to increase its quantity, and to make the book a liberalizing force in the life of the community. A new educational psychology which was substituting interest for force, content for formal learning, and an evolutionary for a static point of view, found no difficulty in recognizing the public library as a co-worker *non pareil* in the building of a sound and permanent popular culture.³⁷

The earliest complete formalization of this current of ideas which embodied the criticism of teaching methods and looked for a closer integration between the school and the library, was contained in Charles Francis Adams' “familiar talk with the teachers of Quincy, upon the subject of books and reading among their scholars.”³⁸ This talk, prepared at the suggestion of Quincy's progressive school superintendent, Col. Francis W. Parker, stressed in particular the guidance function of education as against the skill-imparting emphasis then prevalent in the public schools. Translated into terms of books, reading and culture, this meant that teachers should concern themselves more with the problem of teaching *how* and *what* to read than with developing skill in the mere mechanics of reading. The result of the old type of teaching, Adams declared, was the reading of light trashy books which offered more excitement and stimulation than substance; for, said he, “a very small degree of book knowledge almost universally takes a depraved shape. The animal will come out.” The teacher must interest himself in individual development.

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He must not "stop at the border of that wilderness of literature . . . but he has got to take the pupil by the hand and enter into it with him." When applied to the use of public libraries in the teaching process, this implied public library visits by pupils accompanied by their teachers. It meant a gradual induction step by step from the simple and appealing to the more highly developed classical literature which constituted the final cultural objective. History could be taught through the medium of fiction; geography through books of travel; the judicious use of biography would be of value in all types of instruction. "Instruction through amusement characterized the program."

Adams' strictures upon the shortcomings of pedagogy and his recommendations for improvement reached receptive ears almost immediately. Papers read at the conventions of the National Educational Association in 1880 and in later years reflected the new interest in "intelligent teaching" as against "formal teaching" in the development of literary tastes in the classroom; a few papers discussed the relationship between these conceptions and the operation of free public libraries. It was suggested that the educational process began with Froebel and ended with the public library, the latter being the more important of the two. Some felt that the library was useless without the public school to teach the young how to use it. One educator advocated teaching the use of the reference books such as dictionaries and encyclopedias as early as the skill could be absorbed and used to advantage. The new point of view indicated that it was better to have less knowledge of facts and more of the how and the where to find them. Once more reflecting Adams' advice, biography and other categories of library sources were urged as implements in the teaching of history.³⁹ In the 1890's librarians were invited by the National Educational Association to present their views on the library-school relationship and to make the teaching profession cognizant of the peculiar problems encountered by librarianship in its services to the public schools. Toward the end of the century, a library department was organized in the National Educational Association.⁴⁰

Notwithstanding the tardy reception of professional librarianship into pedagogical circles, leaders in the American Library Association, from its very beginnings, did not hesitate to announce their own estimate of the educational significance of public libraries. Nor were they modest in proclaiming the features which gave their in-

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stitutions unquestionable advantages over the teaching process as it operated in the classroom. Libraries could—where the schools did not and could not—cater to individual differences in interest as well as in intellectual ability and achievement.

In one important particular the librarian wields a power far superior to that of the schoolmaster. The one great defect of our American educational systems is that of assorting humanity into lengths that do not correspond—into classes in which all kinds are mixed up together with little chance for mutual assimilation, and with individuality repressed and obliterated. Our schools will never reach their full fruition until the undeniable advantage of personal contact among pupils is present together with the development of individual training, securing the natural bent in study and character. . . . Here the library has the advantage. It appeals to and nurtures every idiosyncrasy. Like the soil, it imparts this quality to that grain, and others to the different fruits.⁴¹

Thus without denying the basic role of the public schools, librarians could demand a place of their own in the cultural constellation. They insisted that the public library should no longer be relegated to the position of an appendage or a frill of the American system of public education. Realizing that a "more righteous than thou" attitude might offend the educators whose support was absolutely essential for an expanding library program, the library profession always used the formulation of "complementary educational forces" when discussing the relationship between the library and the school.⁴² This description was as true as it was politic. For without a well-entrenched idea of universal free education, the necessary literate and culturally stimulated reading public would not be present to justify fuller tax support for free libraries.

With regard to practical cooperative arrangements between schools and town libraries, it is not clear whether librarians or school officials took the initiative. The generally accepted story places the initial stimulus with Charles Francis Adams' talks to the Quincy teachers which were first read in May 1876. However, there is good evidence which denies this simple version. We have, to take one instance, a statement dating back to 1860 which indicates the conscious use of public library facilities by way of referring pupils to library books "on various subjects of general exercise and teaching."⁴³ Moreover, the frequent urging by librarians and trustees of the early 1870's that school children use their free libraries bears witness that

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school library interoperation antedates Adams' excellent development of the subject in 1876.

The most concrete and lasting early work in the field of school-library cooperation was done at Worcester, Providence and Boston in the period 1878-80. The practices initiated by the librarians of these three key institutions include conferences between school and library officials, the granting of special borrowing privileges to teachers so that large numbers of books might be withdrawn simultaneously for classroom use, the issuing of large deposit collections to schools, the compiling of special book lists for schools as well as suggestions for the use of libraries by school pupils, and the making of a budgetary allotment for books suggested by teachers.⁴⁴ In the work and writings of these librarians we find not only the basic principles and practices of the subsequent school-library relationship but also the seeds of what was later to become the school library proper.

The Public Library from the Educator's Point of View

To say that librarians took the lead in bringing about a functional relationship between the bibliothecal and teaching arts by no means implies that teachers and educational administrators were previously oblivious to the uses of library books in educating the people. The very early activities of state educational officers in New York, Massachusetts and elsewhere in behalf of the school-district library constitute an adequate refutation for any such conception.⁴⁵ The era of the free town library was not, moreover, born without some midwifery assistance by Wayland, Everett and Ticknor whose claim to the title "educator" is clear. Henry Barnard's attendance at both the abortive librarians' convention in 1853 and the first meeting of the American Library Association in 1876 also argues well for at least a benign feeling on the part of some educators toward the public library movement.

William Torrey Harris, philosopher superintendent of the St. Louis schools from 1868 to 1880 and United States Commissioner of Education from 1889 to 1906, was an ardent supporter and promoter of public libraries.⁴⁶ Once the ability to read had been imparted by the common schools, declared Harris, each American was free to choose the materials of his individual self-education. This was the essence of a democratic system of education. Learning was not imposed or "poured in" by teachers and lecturers. Helpless stu-

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dents were not forced to receive knowledge which some authority had decided was good for them.

The public library was to Harris "the temple dedicated to the communion of man, as an individual, with man as a generic existence." The instrumentality of language afforded everyone, regardless of his economic status, an opportunity to share in the highest and most lasting experience of mankind. Harris was little interested in the practical and vocational benefits of reading. Social equality, he thought, had been achieved in America inasmuch as everyone—from very poor to very rich—had to do some kind of work for his livelihood. Cultural equality was also a fact now that there was ready access to the best available expression in the arts, languages, religion, science and philosophy.

One should take into account also the activities of local schoolmen in the development of their own free town libraries. If one examines local library histories carefully he notes the participation of teachers—great and insignificant—variously as initiators of library-fund collections, as trustees of nascent free libraries, as acting librarians, as dedication orators, as contributors of books, periodicals, sums of money and, if nothing else, of encouragement and good will.⁴⁷

In summarizing the participation of the educational world in spreading the library idea, one should not forget the probable influence upon teachers of widely distributed educational periodicals of the nineteenth century. Needless to say, wherever the editorial hands of Henry Barnard and Horace Mann were operating there could be found a goodly sprinkling of news and editorial items about the progress and benefits of school-district libraries and social libraries as well as of the various organizational and publishing plans for the diffusion of knowledge. Barnard's *Connecticut Common School Journal* and Mann's *Common School Journal* contained for the most part news notes, sketchy remarks, and book lists.⁴⁸ Barnard's *Journal of the Rhode Island Institute of Instruction* published more extensive remarks on the virtues of reading and self-culture. By reprinting his "Reports on the Condition and Improvement of the Public Schools" in this journal, Barnard brought before teachers the potential values of school apparatus, of school libraries, of lyceums, lectures, and library associations.⁴⁹ In view of the amount of space and emphasis devoted to libraries in these early periodicals it is disappointing to find comparatively little on the subject in that most powerful of Barnard's periodicals, the later *American Journal of Edu-*

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cation. Beyond Hillard's article in 1856 on the "History of the Boston Public Library" and a somewhat longer article on the same institution published three years later, there were only infrequent items on school-district libraries and public library news bits.⁵⁰

However, it may be somewhat consoling to note that this virtual neglect of a contemporary educational movement as considerable as the public library movement was not atypical of the pedagogue's magazines of that period. The probable explanation is that once the free library became legally divorced from the public schools, educators, absorbed in their own pressing interests of expansion and state support, no longer considered libraries their responsibility. The *Massachusetts Teacher* of 1851 printed Everett's letter to the Mayor of Boston on the subject of a public library⁵¹ and then for fourteen years made no more than casual reference to the library movement. Symptomatic of the lack of serious attention to this subject in educational minds of the period was the absence of any mention whatsoever of libraries in an article on "A Complete System of Public Education" which advocated every state educational service conceivable including state support for colleges, agricultural and technical schools.⁵² This obvious neglect applied as well to the *Connecticut School Journal* of this period, the *Rhode Island Schoolmaster*, the *New Hampshire Journal of Education*, the *Maine Normal (Maine Journal of Education)*, and the *Pennsylvania School Journal*.⁵³ That the latter barely mentioned free town libraries until the 1890's was accurately descriptive of the lack of such an interest on the part of any group in the state of Pennsylvania before the closing decade of the century. Most of the controversial material appearing in the *Pennsylvania School Journal* dealt with support of school-district libraries. Many and varied were the arguments on this subject; suffice it to say that they all lay between one point of view which advocated full state maintenance and another which insisted on completely voluntary support by the inhabitants of each community. This belated debate on a matter which had been decisively settled in the northeastern states decades before was but added manifestation of Pennsylvania's general retardation in the realm of publicly supported education.

The only educational periodical which paid real attention to the value of free city and town libraries was the *New England Journal of Education*, later known as the *Journal of Education*. Receiving its initial stimulus from Adams' "familiar talks"—which were reprinted

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as the "Public Library and the Public Schools,"—this periodical seems to have adopted the policy of printing excerpts from reports and speeches, and of soliciting articles by librarians in connection with problems of classroom teaching. The growing interest in school libraries is documented in the volumes of this periodical.⁵⁴

If one is disappointed by the failure of these educational organs to initiate and press activities in behalf of the library movement, his disappointment will be deepened upon searching the reports of state educational officials for similar materials. Quite unlike the educator-superintendents of the school-district library period, the officials of the early public library era seem to have done little more than cheer local efforts by publishing summaries and excerpts of library reports. The only serious thought given by a state officer before 1860 was that of the secretary of the Maine Board of Education, E. M. Thurston, whose report for 1851 showed a clear recognition of the problems involved as well as an awareness of the library experiences in Massachusetts and New Hampshire.⁵⁵ Thurston advocated abandonment of the school-district system and the adoption of a town library law. He also urged, in advance of his times, a monetary contribution by the state to towns which made annual appropriations to public libraries.

Although Massachusetts heard the first discussions on the subject of free town libraries, the state board of education said nothing of them before 1860. In this year's report one finds many pages devoted to quotations from the enabling law and from reports of local progress.⁵⁶

The ideas covered in these excerpts exemplify social justifications which appear and reappear throughout American library history: benefits to families who could not otherwise obtain books because of economic circumstances; the importance of libraries to operators, mechanics, and laboring populations in general; lists of approved fiction; and the principles of book selection which demand exclusion of professional and definitely sectarian books. Subsequent reports mention the liberalizing and socializing influence of libraries—especially at times when divisive tendencies seem to outweigh fraternizing ones⁵⁷ and emphasize the reciprocal benefits involved in school-library cooperation.⁵⁸

The Rhode Island Commissioners' reports of the years preceding the public library law of that state are an exception to the general lack of active interest in New England state education offices. They

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give evidence of planning and forethought especially where they examine the state of local libraries then in existence; discuss the relationship of adult education, evening schools and high schools to public libraries; place the libraries among the indispensables of a system of public education; and urge state aid to encourage their spread and growth.⁵⁹ As a result of this interest on the part of the state education department, the law achieved in 1875 was eminently desirable.⁶⁰ Many new libraries were inaugurated and several old ones revived and made public under the stimulus of state aid. Reports of the years following 1875 indicate a wholesome interest in the social and educational functions of public libraries.⁶¹ There are no indications, at least in the annual reports, that the state board actually exercised supervisory authority (implied in the law) over the selection of books by state-aid libraries.

In other state education departments of the Northeast free town library interest was not in evidence until the late 1880's and 1890's. The New York State commissioners complained regularly about the wastefulness and inefficiency of the school-district system but it was not until Melvil Dewey became secretary to the Board of Regents that concrete reorganizational work got under way. The activities of the "university extension" and "home education" divisions of the University of the State of New York date from Dewey's sojourn in Albany.⁶² The Vermont superintendency discovered the educational potency of free books in the last decade of the century and proceeded immediately to the writing of a state-aid law.⁶³ In Pennsylvania, where even a liberal school-district library law was lacking, mature library thinking did not emerge from the state office even at the end of the century.⁶⁴

Although statistical compilations and remarks appeared in the annual reports of the U. S. Bureau of Education from the earliest years of that office, it was not until the occasion of the Centennial Exhibition of 1876 that real support was thrust into the library movement by the national officialdom. There is no question—judging from the widespread interest and comment provoked by the special report⁶⁵—that, in the act of publishing chapters by experts on the major aspects of library science, the Bureau of Education performed an inestimable service to the public library movement. On the next occasion of similar scope, viz., the Columbian Exposition, the annual report of the Commissioner of Education published a comparable series of papers.⁶⁶ The annual reports of the surrounding years all included

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extensive statistics of public libraries and occasionally printed papers contributed by prominent librarians.⁶⁷

A summary view of the role of the teaching profession in the library movement indicates beyond doubt that this role was not an initiatory one. Only in isolated local library activities did schoolmen take the lead. Local and state educational officers did not on the whole stand out as active campaigners for state legislation or local promotion, though they did cooperate willingly and intelligently in library-school relationships. The national Bureau of Education contributed more than any other educational group to the popularization of the library idea. The Bureau's orientation to the public library is well illustrated in Commissioner Harris's statement to the library profession on the occasion of the Columbian Exposition:

The public library is recognized in the Country as one of the most efficient auxiliaries of the public schools and as such has always received much attention from this Bureau which in 1876 prepared and published a voluminous report. . . . It therefore seemed eminently proper that at the approaching Exposition the Bureau should make the library a special feature of its exhibit.⁶⁸

Notwithstanding the desire of many library and educational interests to place the free library side by side with the common school as coordinated molders of American youth, the fact remains that the public library was historically an agency of adult education. Most early town and city libraries did not admit readers to membership below the age of fourteen. Some placed the minimum age at sixteen. We note numerous instances in which trustees modified their rules after their libraries had been in operation many years to give access to younger readers. The children's room proper was an innovation of the last decade of the century.

Some adults had received extremely limited school instruction. Others had been taught badly or inadequately. Still others had been imbued with ideas which were detrimental to the common welfare. Educational gaps were to be filled in, errors to be corrected; the level of the collective culture was to be raised immeasurably by this most inexpensive of public institutions—the free library. This and more. The general character and moral health of the people—especially those subject to the strains and temptations of urban industrial life—demanded such an agency.

Chapter 6. THE HUMANITARIAN IDEA

THE UNDERPRIVILEGED

THE SAME ERA WHICH SAW POLITICAL DEMOCRACY MARCH triumphantly in the company of an expanding economy was witness also to crowding in cities, and to poor and insufficient housing. Delinquency, crime and drunkenness were rampant.¹ Moreover, as if the basic living arrangements were not sufficiently degrading, the condition of the mass of low wage earners was immeasurably aggravated by the increasing length and severity of depression periods after 1850. The acceleration of the industrial revolution after mid-century brought with it the recurrence of years of widespread poverty and unemployment as well as years of exuberant prosperity. A threatened financial panic toward the end of the year 1854 raised the unemployment figure in New York City to somewhere between fifteen and twenty thousand workers. The depression of 1857 worked similar havoc among urban workers all over the country.²

The Civil War ushered in an era of unparalleled expansion in manufactures, the adoption of new machinery, the establishment of banks, and the building of railroads. Unemployment practically disappeared and wages skyrocketed. With the cessation of war activities, however, when the armies were demobilized and extraordinary war industries had tapered off, unemployment reappeared. Nevertheless, industry, nurtured by the introduction of new machinery and artificially stimulated by a general business inflation, kept expanding until 1873, when the bubble burst and the country was thrown into a six-year depression. Women workers were pushed down in the economic scale by a glut in the labor market produced by demobilization and by technological changes in industry. With the consequent deterioration of living conditions, there was a distinct rise in the number of women driven to prostitution and in the number of men in-

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carcerated for theft. The selfsame phenomena were observable in subsequent depression years.³

The humanitarian spirit, which had emerged as a real force in American life about the time Andrew Jackson became president, rose in each of these periods to combat ignorance, poverty, prostitution, crime, and drunkenness. The catholic sympathies of humanitarian reformers embraced every form of human need, vice and degradation. Recognizing that all the ills besetting their fellow men proceeded from social causes which had much in common, outstanding humanitarians found reason to support at one time or another all movements for social amelioration. They were active in behalf of better working conditions, abolitionism, the child labor cause, penal reform and profeminism.⁴ Public education and the eradication of illiteracy were also within their scope. How wide the province of the "social scientist" was after his energies had been released from the fight against slavery, can readily be seen by a reading of one branch of activity in the program of the American Social Science Association:

Under the head of Social Economy, we shall consider pauperism actual rather than legal, and the relation and the responsibilities of the gifted and educated classes toward the weak, the witless, and the ignorant. We shall endeavor to make useful inquiries into the causes of Human Failure, and the Duties devolving upon Human Success. We shall consider the hours of Labor; the Relations of Employers and Employed; the Employment of Women, by itself considered; Workhouses; Public Libraries and Museums; the Relation of Idleness to Female Crime; Prostitution and Intemperance; Savings Banks and Dispensaries. . . .⁵

That the inclusion of public libraries and museums in the program was not mere lip service was attested to by the occasional appearance of authoritative articles on the subject in issues of the Association's official organ.⁶ Indeed library promoters in both England and America had always advertised their pet institution as an agency of general social uplift. It will be remembered how Barnard hoped, by establishing school-district libraries, to draw the youth away "from vicious tastes and pursuits" and to "preserve from hurtful amusements and gross indulgences, bless the fireside, and give dignity and increased value to mere muscular labor."⁷ It will also be remembered how this general stress on the preservation of virtue by providing wholesome forms of entertainment appeared in practically

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every major declaration made during the infancy of the library movement.

Brightening the Lives of the Poor

In evaluating the meaning carried by these expressions of virtue and human betterment, a distinction must be made between the two kinds of source material—that which advertised libraries as quiet and decorous places in which “females” could spend their evenings, as temples where idleness and vice would be suppressed, as resorts to replace those “questionable” rendezvous,⁸ as against the more specific statement which made definite references as to what population groups needed “saving” most and which harmful pleasures had to be discouraged. For here indeed lay the difference between the mild teachings of genteel religion and the serious crusade against social evils of the day. The one lamented the imperfections of society; the other attacked directly such aspects of social structure as bred poverty.

The poor, whom the Lord loved so well as to make them numerous, were a matter of first concern to public library interests. No extended argument was necessary to carry the conviction that those who were in straitened means by accident of birth, or otherwise through no fault of their own, were deserving of the educational and inspirational influences of books.⁹ This was especially true of those poor workers who eked out mere subsistence from the “daily drudgery of some engrossing occupation.” For the intellectual, hard pressed by the problems of his day, books provided an escape to culture; to the poor workingman whose lot at home as well as at work was none too pleasant, books presented the livelier scenes of a brighter world.¹⁰ Such was the appeal to humane instincts. Once found to have been a successful entree to the taxpayer’s pocket, it was used over and over again in the American library movement. “There are also those,” declared the library board at Brookline using the logic of uplift, “whose circumstances have unfortunately been such, that they are aware of the advantages which the informed possess over the ignorant. They have not time to spend, nor can they command the means of helping themselves to the extent which they desire. They hail with gratitude . . . the privileges offered by the library to them and their children.”¹¹ “How many intellects does it feed,” echoed the Worcester trustees, “which, but for its facilities, would remain destitute of the nutriment which they crave!”¹²

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Temptations of the City

With a logic so clear it was not difficult to justify the policy of purchasing numerous novels for readers in free libraries; for, if fiction were not supplied, who could tell what kind of harmful amusements the lower-class youth would seek for itself.¹³ Joshua Bates' insistence that the reading rooms provided for the less fortunate classes be light, warm and comfortable also emanated from a desire to compete with the unwholesome amusements and amusement places which were admittedly attractive to misguided youth.¹⁴ Even before Bates made known his specifications, Bostonians had read the compelling argument of humanitarianism as offered by "Canty Carl" in his press series on free agencies of popular culture.

Typical of the religious-humanitarian attempts to combat the moral dangers of city life before the era of the public library were the Young Men's Christian Unions and Associations which were first established in the ten years following mid-century. Their reported function was "to aid, elevate, and improve the young men of the city, who are clerks, mechanics, and apprentices, living for the most part in boarding houses, and without comforts, interests, or influences of a home."¹⁵ Along with facilities for reading and conversation, declamation and public reading periods were also arranged. The Brooklyn Union for Christian Work invited all classes, but considered its privileges of particular benefit to those who could not otherwise provide them for themselves.¹⁶

The Young Women's Christian Associations, first organized during the Civil War for the benefit of girls in stores and offices,¹⁷ were wholly absorbed in the moral outcomes of their work. The librarian of the Y.W.C.A. in New York City considered as her most important duty the guiding and directing of young, hard-worked city girls away from "devious and unprofitable and dangerous ways." Said she:

Stand by the librarian's desk in the evening, when the women and girls from the shops and factories are free . . . and see the jostling crowd that presses in, embarrassed and awkward, half awed by the very beauty and refinement of the place, and abashed at the sight of so many books. . . . They are free in the evening, and though tired they are full of nervous activity; they must have amusement, and the streets offer it in lively, stirring excitement and incident and rough jest.¹⁸

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Uplift in New York

Naturally enough it was New York City, with conditions worse than elsewhere because of its huge population, which needed "saving" most. New York City, it should be noted, was shamefully tardy in establishing popular tax-supported libraries. The practitioners in humane science had to take charge. Concerted efforts to provide books and reading rooms for the underprivileged in New York City took place during the pre-Civil War depression. Charles Loring Brace used libraries rather unsuccessfully as part of his attempt to rehabilitate the "dangerous classes."¹⁹ The task of rescuing city women from the depths into which they had fallen was undertaken in the autumn of 1858, when a meeting was held for the purpose of establishing a free library for women. The speakers, among whom were Mayor Tiemann and Henry Ward Beecher, tugged with all their rhetorical strength at the heartstrings of this audience but the project never materialized.²⁰

The first concrete steps to establish a free circulating library were taken in 1878 by a group of teachers in a Grace Church sewing class. The original purpose—to offset the influence of cheap, sensational stories which were being read by a few children in this class—was expanded within a few years to include library service for the entire city. The stated aim was "to supply good reading to the public, especially to those who are unable to provide themselves with suitable books either through poverty or ignorance." This was to be accomplished through branches located in the most densely populated and poorest communities in the city. Doubtless the association which inaugurated this movement on a subscription basis was looking forward to municipal backing and eventually to the type of support the Boston Public Library had been getting for thirty years. As the *New York Times* said: "The best title to public aid however is the proof of work well done upon private basis. . . ."²¹ This was what the management had in mind when it repeatedly emphasized in its reports and statistics the number of good books which were getting into the homes of the poor and otherwise contributing to "the moral and intellectual elevation of the masses."²²

Considering the vigorous public support received by this movement, it is amazing that New York City did not get its public library sooner. In the very infancy of the project the *Times* (February 9, 1879) deplored the circumstance in which New York City had no

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free library to provide cultural stimuli, "while every agency calculated to debase and weaken the common mind is found here in full force. . . ." Editorials in the *Daily Tribune* also remarked upon the lack of library facilities for poor and unemployed mechanics.²³ The periodicals, which at times were prone to look at the New York Free Circulating Library as a charity, lent their full support to the movement.²⁴

Several additional precursors of the New York Public Library were established by various groups interested in filling in service areas untouched by the Free Circulating Library. The Cathedral Library Association opened its doors to New York City residents and to non-resident members of the Association. It also published religious tracts and distributed Catholic literature among the poor and those in hospitals and reformatories. The University Settlement Library and Webster Free Library were social work agencies which operated in crowded and depressed areas. The Aguilar Free Library Society was designed to fill the needs of an area densely peopled with Jewish immigrants and their native-born children. The objects of the New York Free Circulating Library for the Blind are self-explanatory.²⁵

THE EVILS TO BE FOUGHT

Pernicious Literature

The social evils which humanitarian agencies under private auspices set out to combat were also the special targets of public library enterprise. Both were equally armed to drive immoral literature off the market, to put saloons out of business by supplanting them with the pleasures of reading, and to save money normally devoted to the suppression of crime. What the parental mentality of the day was prone to call "pernicious" literature is difficult to surmise inasmuch as specific titles were not mentioned. It is quite conceivable that, by the logic of price and acceptability, the Beadle dime novels and others in their family were suffering universal censure. Perhaps the sensational nature of these inexpensive storybooks was considered unsettling to the emotions of both adolescent and adult. There may have been books circulated and read *sub rosa*, quite the equal of the pornography and sensationalism of a much-read literature of our own time.

Whether or not we agree with the danger as it was viewed by contemporaries is immaterial. The menace was clear and present to

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men who had "reason to believe that the guilty vendors of these vile pages are here carrying on in secret their horrible traffic, and doing all in their power to spread among our youth these polluted and polluting books."²⁶ Everyone (in Massachusetts) had been taught to read, a factor which made it the more imperative that a good public library be available to furnish an elevating, virtue-building book collection. To wage an open battle upon the vicious, immoral press, was only to advertise it. It must be quietly driven out of competition by the superior and attractive books housed in public libraries.²⁷ Moreover, even public libraries had to be carefully scrutinized lest they circulate injurious books among young people, or gather "collections of openly immoral works."²⁸

Delinquency and Crime

The power of books to assuage the savage breast was again used in the battle which individual reformers and the municipalities themselves were waging against delinquency and crime. The number of prison inmates was increasing with such rapidity that budget-makers began to feel an identity of interest with criminologists. The thoughts of Jesse Torrey, Francis Wayland, and other library advocates on the moralizing influences of good literature had been affirmed by the experience of prisons in the handling of their inmates.²⁹ If libraries had obtained such salutary results in the education of convicts they certainly could help prevent others from falling to a state requiring penal correction. Successive mayors of Boston reported public library matters in their messages almost in the same breath as they did items pertaining to prisons and almshouses. The state's function was to prevent as well as punish crime, declared Josiah Quincy.³⁰ This was precisely the reasoning used by the directors of the Lowell Library in petitioning their city council for a free public library. The city levied taxes to punish crime: why should it not do the same to prevent crime?

Let the library be free to all, and then, perhaps there will be one young man less in the place where intoxicating drinks are found. . . . Make the library free to all and then, perhaps, there will be one young woman less to fall from the path of purity and goodness down to that depth of degradation and misery to which only a woman can fall.³¹

The number of subscribers increased by 277 from 1864 to 1865;

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the number of arrests in Lowell decreased by 142 in the same year; the figures spoke for themselves.³²

The design of this argument was perfect for taxpayer consumption. Add the sums lost by burglary and pickpocketing to the cost of jails, courts, police, burglar alarms, etc., and you had a sum infinitely larger than a library would cost.³³ This idea, put into form for academic sociologists, eventually became Professor W. Stanley Jevons' "principle of multiplication of utility." In Jevons' language:

We must remember that, in addition to the borrowing and consulting of books, the readers have in most cases a cheerful well armed, and well-lighted sitting room, supplied with newspapers and magazine tables. To many a moneyless weary man, the free library is a literary club, an unexceptional refuge from the strife and dangers of life. . . . Even if they were very costly, free libraries would be less expensive than prisons, poor-houses, and other institutions maintained by public money, or the ginpallaces, music halls, and theatres maintained by private expenditures.³⁴

It was many years before this principle—convincing as it must have been to many a banker, business man and politician—ceased appearing in the literature of the reformists and librarians. Its greatest virtue was that you could take it for only a fraction of what it was worth and still have a potent thesis. Rare was the voice of the moralist who challenged it on the grounds that you needed more than agencies of mere intellectual training to reduce moral delinquency. Religious agencies had to work with schools and libraries to complete the educational pattern.³⁵

Drink

Temperance workers and free library advocates were of one mind on many subjects, but nowhere were their thoughts more identical than on the economic advantages of curbing drinking habits through free reading rooms and circulating libraries. The responsibility of liquor traffic for poverty and crime had been established. The high cost of asylums and correctional institutions was a matter of no little worry to state and municipal administrations. The correlation between sobriety and labor efficiency was accepted by factory managers. Property losses attributable to the negligence of intemperate workers were well known to industrial proprietors.³⁶ No wonder then that businessmen, officeholders in local governments, ministers

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and temperance workers joined in fostering free library services. This accounts without a doubt for the number of library trustees and donors (See p. 139-40) who participated in local temperance movements as well as weighty business and civic activities. Perhaps it was not a mere fortuitous circumstance that the temperance movement in Massachusetts drew prominent leaders from the families of Abiel Abbot, Abbott Lawrence and George Ticknor, or that Francis Wayland should have been a strong partisan of the same movement.³⁷

It is also worth noting that there was a strong temperance drive in Concord (New Hampshire), Boston, Lowell, and Worcester coincidentally with active steps toward establishing free libraries in these towns.³⁸ Frequent was the use of the temperance argument in public library campaigns and in building dedications, the emphasis varying from the purely religious and moral to the practical reasoning of political economists.³⁹

As for the participation of temperance workers as such in the public library movement, neither the literature of temperance nor of librarianship yields anything worth elaborating. The fact that many donors and trustees of early public libraries were contributors to or active members of temperance organizations shows that an opportunity for common ideological thinking did exist for those interested in both problems simultaneously.⁴⁰ We have also the examples of temperance speakers like John B. Gough and Henry Ward Beecher who displayed their interest in libraries by good works and deeds.⁴¹ Moreover several libraries and reading-room associations were organized by local temperance groups for subscribers and members; e.g., the Washingtonians and Sons of Temperance (Boston), and the Independent Order of Good Templars (Mashpie, Massachusetts). There are, in addition, incidents like the attempt of a Total Abstinence Society to establish a public library at Holyoke which may have been responsible for subsequent free library activities;⁴² or like the bank deposit made in 1863 by the Mayflower Division of the Sons of Temperance for the purchase of books for any free library that might be established at Provincetown. Examples of large scale library service such as that provided by the Woman's Christian Temperance Union in Trenton before the public library was established in 1900 are indicative of the kind of role the temperance people played in the library movement.⁴³

Library activities of the nation-wide temperance movement were in an entirely different field. Small collections of books, magazines

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and tracts, generally on temperance and religious subjects, were appended to divisional lodge rooms, "temperance saloons," and "coffee-houses" which temperance organizations opened in competition to purveyors of alcoholic beverages. Although many temperance workers felt that the Y.M.C.A.'s should have taken over this work, they recognized that the task had not been performed satisfactorily. They therefore set about to provide eating places which were not, as other city restaurants, also drinking places. These resorts were meant to benefit those who, having recently migrated to cities in search of factory jobs, had been deprived of comfortable homes and family life. Some of the "temperance saloons" paid scant attention to reading-room facilities, while a few overlooked the eating and drinking functions completely and devoted themselves entirely to the literary aspects of their work.⁴⁴

Despite frequent reports on the establishment of coffee houses, friendly inns, etc., in temperance periodicals and the tabulations of progress in this work appearing in the annual minutes of the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union,⁴⁵ the movement seems not to have been successful. The only eastern states which reported several inns operating in 1885 were Maine and New Jersey.⁴⁶ Inasmuch as these states were conspicuously weak in their free library progress, favorable reception of temperance libraries is understandable. Then too, Maine had always been the scene of a particularly strong temperance movement.

For one reason or another, many Union reading rooms—established at a considerable cost by their sponsors—had to close. Some failed for want of patronage; others because the profits from the restaurant service were not large enough to support a library. Failure was variously ascribed to the desire of most people to read at home of an evening, to the distance of the reading room from factory and business centers, or to the opening of reading rooms by competing Reformed Men's Clubs in towns unable to support two such places.⁴⁷ The solution of these difficulties lay in two directions; one, the establishment of loan libraries specializing in temperance literature,⁴⁸ and the other, a concentrated effort upon placing temperance literature in Sabbath-school libraries, society libraries and public libraries.⁴⁹ Lists of appropriate books and advertisements for "temperance sets" were printed frequently to aid libraries in the selection of books for purchase. Favorite suggestions were Sargent's *Temper-*

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ance Tales, Beecher's *Sermons*, *Juvenile Temperance Speaker*, "The Bessie Series," and *Marcia and Ellen, the Drunkard's Children*.⁵⁰

In reading the "recommended reading" lists published by organized temperance workers we begin to suspect the reasons why this movement was not drawn more closely into the agitation for free public libraries. Our suspicions are reinforced by the narrowly conceived campaign to get temperance instruction into city school systems and the eventual success in getting Dr. Richardson's *Temperance Lesson Book* adopted by school boards.⁵¹ Temperance workers also supported Sabbatarian bigots in their opposition to Sunday opening of public libraries.⁵² Moreover, final confirmation comes in the form of criticism of physiology textbooks for teaching that alcohol had nutritive value. *Robinson Crusoe*, whose hero considered rum among his ship's treasures, was condemned as was *Swiss Family Robinson* wherein a cask of wine was made a very attractive possession. Can this type of literature possibly have been among the targets of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union's campaign for the suppression of impure literature which, as was reported, "some of our public libraries too readily admit"?⁵³ If such petty, domineering obscurantism was characteristic of their attitude, the temperance women may well have been afraid of a democratic, intelligent, free public library.

THE LIBRARIAN AS A HUMANITARIAN

Inasmuch as it was customary for trustees to interpret their institutions for public consumption, there was little of a social nature in the annual reports of librarians. Statistics of accessions and borrowing, and general observations on recent progress comprised these summaries of the year's work. Only occasionally did a librarian venture to suggest publicly that his town would accomplish more by purchasing books for the library than devoting all of its funds to curbing crime and alleviating poverty.⁵⁴ The one outstanding interpretative position taken by a librarian in behalf of his own library is exemplified in the ten-year campaign fought by Frederick M. Crunden to make the St. Louis library tax-supported and completely free.⁵⁵

The local dissemination of the library idea, as we have observed, was generally left in the hands of trustees and lay library interests. Librarians preferred for their division of the work to publish articles addressed to lay and library audiences of the entire country. A re-

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view of Edward's *Free Town Libraries* in the *Nation* was apparently addressed to taxpaying townsmen who as yet had been unable to see the advantage of reading for clerks, artisans, servants, and mill operatives. The reviewer, Charles A. Cutter, spoke of the pleasure and relief from weariness and anxiety which libraries had given; he also suggested that visits to low resorts could be discouraged by substituting cheaper and better amusement.⁵⁶ The onset of hard times in 1893 gave another librarian opportunity to show his institution as a social ameliorative: "If society cannot provide work for all, the idle—chronic or temporary—are much safer with a book in the library than elsewhere."⁵⁷

The American Library Association was quick to seize upon the humanitarian rationale as campaign material for more and better supported libraries. Whether the underlying motive was idealistic or selfish is not of great importance. The success of this appeal to the general public and its tax-controlling officers is hardly to be questioned. In the very first year of its national organization, the library profession realized that it could demand support as a fair compensation for "keeping order in the community by giving people a harmless source of recreation."⁵⁸ Concern for the poor, lowering the costs of penal correction, and competition against the "street, the saloon and low amusement places of the poor" were all, as ideas, given their job to perform. The power of books in aiding escape from sordid surroundings was also mentioned.⁵⁹ At the San Francisco conference of the American Library Association in 1891, informative circulars were distributed for the use of enterprising librarians. Their logic ran as follows: Since vice incubates in ignorance, no lover of humanity could deny the special fitness of librarians to enlighten, purify, and elevate mankind. This very document, oddly enough, appeared in the report to the 1891 conference of the endowment committee.⁶⁰

The social-economy aspect of libraries supported many an attempt to wheedle more money out of the taxpayer. If the citizen was interested in reducing costs engendered by pauperism and crime, he would certainly recognize that the library was the most potent means of attaining this end.⁶¹ The publicity experience gained by librarianship in its early years was later epitomized in suggestive pamphlets for library missionaries.⁶² In these informal manuals were many a suggestion and quotation which expressed or exemplified the humanitarian spirit. One such statement, which justified

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the libraries' fiction-purchasing policy as well as the existence of free libraries themselves, reads: "It supplies the public with recreative reading. To the masses of people—hard worked and living humdrum lives—the novel comes as an open door to an ideal life, in the enjoyment of which one may forget for a time the hardships or tedium of the real."

Upon surveying the humanitarian idea as used to further the aims of the public library movement, one is forced to the observation that much of the "reform" of the period after the Civil War did not stem from the same broad democratic ideals which were characteristic of humanitarians of prewar years. The humanitarian of an earlier time was likely to be found participating in any and every movement which promised to improve the lot of the common man. He struck out against all conditions which limited the freedom of human beings.

The later species of "social reformer" was more particularized in his activities and not always as democratic. His reform sometimes was an attempt to impose upon his neighbors moral and religious prejudices of his own. Such reform, exemplified by some aspects of the temperance crusade, might very well have been an outright denial of democratic principals insofar as it aimed to deprive others of free expression and action. "Philanthropic" reformist philosophies were at times designed to maintain the social stratifications of the *status quo*. For library interests humanitarianism was too often a tactical approach to the sympathies of persons of influence. It was, to be sure, psychologically sound to appeal to human and social values shared by Americans in all walks of life.

Chapter 7. THE WORKINGMAN AND THE PUBLIC LIBRARY

THE WAGE-EARNER'S EDUCATION

JUST AS THE BROADLY CONCEIVED "USEFUL KNOWLEDGE" OF BENJAMIN Franklin's library took on more definite meaning in the establishment of mechanics' and apprentices' libraries, the changing character of apprenticeship convinced the masters that they must join in providing schools and libraries.¹ The historical study of mechanics' institutes shows clearly that the large numbers of employers and employees before the era of the free public library accepted a functional relationship between reading and general material prosperity.

A Changing Economy

Our problem now is to trace the ideas and forces—pertinent in this respect—which assisted in the transition from private support of libraries by subscription to public support by municipal taxation. The step between the original subscription library and the apprentices' library had been occasioned by the interest of the small entrepreneur in the practical education of his apprentice. The apprentices' library symbolized a recognition of the shift from handicraft and small unit production to the factory system. The whole process of the change was aptly stated in an article to promote a public library system for New York City:

Let those who pride themselves upon their devotion to the so-called practical, reflect that the advantages of a library are no longer of a purely literary character, and are becoming less and less so; that the arts and mysteries of manufacture are no longer taught by word of mouth alone to indentured apprentices, but that the "master workmen" of the nineteenth century speak through books to all; that in proportion as our workmen become intelligent and skillful does their labour increase in value to themselves and to the state!²

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Thus, a new method of production necessitated a new approach to instruction of skilled workers. This new situation might have been handled adequately by the mechanics' and apprentices' institutions had it not been for two new disturbing factors. First, there was a gradual stratification of American economic life which profoundly disrupted the balance between employer groups and the numbers of employees for whose welfare the former could justly assume responsibility. Second, the direct occupational relationship between employer and employee was disappearing as industry took on its new form of ownership—the corporation. Whereas formerly the small entrepreneur and master mechanic was interested in providing some form of direct or institutional education for his workmen, the investor and big industrialist had little or no contact with his employees and did not feel any personal responsibility for them. The desire to educate machine workers and mechanics, to make more efficient the vast army of foreign-born workers, now found its expression in the advocacy of public institutions of learning. Furthermore, with the lessening fluidity of class lines, where stress had been placed on helping the worker to rise out of his class, emphasis now was placed on making the mill-hand or mechanic more efficient in his own class.

Factory Libraries

In many cases, factory owners who as yet saw the problem only in local terms, sought to establish public libraries for the use of workers and their families. While they were providing these educational facilities from both practical and genuinely philanthropic motives, it must be recognized from other knowledge we have of this period of industrialization, that they were acting also in response to a current attack on industrialism and factory conditions.³

The library of the Pacific Mills at Lawrence, Massachusetts, is a good illustration of this type of institution. The stated purpose of this library was "to elevate and enlighten the minds of these operatives" more than two thirds of whom in 1857 were of foreign birth. The Pacific Mills library could hardly be called "public" inasmuch as it was for the sole benefit of the employees of the Pacific Corporation; besides, every operative was assessed one cent a week to insure the maintenance of library and lecture hall facilities.⁴ Of similar character, minus the weekly assessment, were the libraries of the Amesbury Flannel Company (Amesbury, Massachusetts),⁵ of the Ly-

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man Mills (Holyoke, Massachusetts)⁶ and the one at North Billerica, Massachusetts.⁷

Representing a status between the factory-supported library and the town-supported library were those institutions which were opened by industrialists and corporations for the use of employees, their families, and the entire community as well. The "Bradlee Library" at Ballardvale, Massachusetts, was established by the owner of the Ballardvale Mills for the free use of his operatives and their families.⁸ Similarly, at Plymouth, Massachusetts, the seventy-fifth anniversary of the Plymouth Cordage Company was the occasion for presenting the Loring Library to the company's workingmen and their families.⁹ The Cambria Library Association, an organization designed to serve the entire town of Johnstown, Pennsylvania, was largely supported by the Cambria Iron Company, whose employees were expected to constitute the greater part of its clientele.¹⁰

Free Reading for Workingmen

Contemporaneously with this concern on the part of individual factory owners for the general and technical education of their employees, a similar rationale was being employed in the promotion of tax support for libraries. In its most general form, this campaign for libraries simply asked for provision of reading matter for the masses from the public fund. In more particularized forms it was accompanied variously by the emotional drive of the humanitarian movement, the idealistic speech of idealistic democracy, the political earnestness of realistic democracy, or the professional zeal of educators. Extracting the one element which was common to all of these special interests, we have, simply stated, a movement for the education of that part of the extra-school population which could not afford to buy its own books. We have a desire on the part of people in all walks of life to provide for the cultural advancement and vocational improvement of those whose schooling had been meager, and who had neither sufficient intellectual impetus nor the material means of carrying forward their education.

Only such a broad conception of this most basic social idea of the library movement can explain the inclusion of library data in the reports of the Bureau of Labor Statistics of Massachusetts. From 1889 to 1901 the section of these reports devoted to "Conditions of Workingmen" contained enumerations and lists of libraries in Massachusetts, with statistics of the size of their book collections and cir-

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culation. A thought-provoking ideology is uncovered when we find the names of newly established libraries listed under "Labor and Industrial Chronology."

This philosophy was neither peculiar to the United States nor new to American social thought when it achieved great currency in the library movement of the 1890's. Jesse Torrey had pointed out in his library pamphlets that a well-informed man in any trade held the promise of a more secure future. President Wayland of Brown had extolled the superior cultural attainments of the American working class and had attributed this superiority to our equality of access to educational opportunities. The British Select Committee of 1849-50 had apparently conceded such superiority in the questions it put to the witness representing American library interests. Speeches by Bulwer-Lytton, William Makepeace Thackeray and Moncton Milnes at the dedication of the Manchester (England) Free Library took due cognizance of the value of public libraries to the impecunious mechanic and artisan. The remarks which the statesman William Ewart Gladstone made at the opening of the St. Martin-in-the-Fields Free Public Library (1891) constitute a representative expression of the form in which this idea served the British library movement later in the century:

"To all classes there is a great utility in the power of reference and use which these institutions afford; but for the masses of the community these institutions are particularly valuable, and it is by those masses that I believe they will be still more and more largely appreciated. There is one kind of appreciation which I cannot help contemplate with greater interest than any other, and that is the case of the very young, the case of the intelligent growing lad who is just beginning, perhaps only in the humble capacity of a messenger, perhaps as an apprentice, but in one way or another, beginning to show that he has got in him the metal of a man. . . . It is in a library like this that every such youth may derive the greatest benefit."¹¹

In the United States, the idea of the library as the "workingman's university" appeared frequently in one form or another in statements which accompanied the donation of library buildings, in dedication speeches, and in trustees' reports. At Mount Holly, Pennsylvania, a library was given for the benefit of the "working people and mill-hands." Similar phraseology was used to describe the purposes of institutions at Bayonne, New Jersey, and Newmarket, New Hamp-

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shire.¹² Carnegie free libraries were almost always dedicated with the hope "that the masses of workingmen and women . . . would remember that this is their library. . . ."¹³

From the very inception of the Boston Public Library the founders and trustees repeatedly emphasized their aims toward satisfying the cultural aspirations of the great masses of Boston's population who could not afford to buy books for themselves. The trustees subscribed to the "gospel of mental culture to the poor" and considered their mission to be similar to that performed by those charged with running the public schools. The successful functioning of the library, according to the first board of trustees, was to be measured by its ability "to carry as many of them (books) as possible into the homes of the young; into poor families; into cheap boarding houses. . . ."¹⁴ In 1861 this same board, citing the high circulation figures of Lower Hall, the popular division of the Boston Public Library, announced that the library's prime object had been achieved, viz., to supply books to those "who are less able than they wish" to furnish books to themselves and to their families.¹⁵

Instances in which library campaigners made a special point of the literary needs of the industrious poor are numerous.¹⁶ The next step was to point out that public libraries were especially suited to manufacturing communities where people were "not only seeking to reach to the utmost limit of everything knowable in their selected vocation, but are also striving to use the same wisdom, knowledge and progress of the ages as stepping-stones or pathways to further increase and development of principles and knowledge. . . ."¹⁷

As a further demonstration of a free library's usefulness to the community, annual reports sometimes remarked upon the vocations of borrowers or made statistical analyses of the occupations of their registered readers. On occasion a casual reference was made to the heavy use to which public libraries were put by the "operatives in the various manufactories of the country."¹⁸ A visitor to the free reading room of Cooper Union placed the majority of its readers among the laboring classes.¹⁹

In writing its unqualified endorsement of the work of the popular division of the Boston Public Library, the examining committee stressed the large attendance of working people of both sexes as well as the methods by which the librarians had encouraged "persons of an humble class . . . to make their wants known."²⁰ The Worcester librarians, who apparently had had not particularly pleasant contacts

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with *hoi polloi*, were gratified to see "rude manners and vulgar practices" gradually disappear from their lower (popular) reading room. The "uncultured" began to speak in low tones and even to remove their hats.²¹ The staff at New Brunswick, New Jersey, whose library was patronized almost entirely by factory hands, told of the manner in which they could determine by the odors which clung to a book, at which factory each borrower worked.²² Such was the consciousness of the part public libraries must play in the education of working-class adults, that the Connecticut Public Library Commission, in surveying the institutions under its supervision, pointedly asked of each library how much it was used by local "mechanics." Several named the specific plants whose employees used the library; some said their facilities were used largely by the "mechanic" or working class. South Norwalk replied that its library was used exclusively by factory employees.²³

Since statistical analyses of readers' occupations were not reported before the very end of the century, and then by very few libraries, little is known in an objective way about the vocational distribution of the free library clientele of the nineteenth century. The analysis made by the Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh in 1898, which took a sampling of thirty-five registrants, showed seventeen to be women, boys or girls, and the remaining eighteen to be in fifteen occupations and professions.²⁴ A survey made by the same library in 1900 yielded a statement that 71 per cent of the borrowers were employees other than managers and superintendents in the various industrial and mercantile establishments of the city.²⁵ A tabulation of professions, trades, and occupations made at Newark shows about 60 per cent in what we may properly call a wage-earning class.²⁶

Librarians of the nineteenth century were constantly and, one might say, painfully being reminded of the latest needs of their working-class public. They were faced with a curious contradiction: In periods of economic stress when appropriations were pruned down, enforced idleness resulted in an increased pressure on their resources. The approach of the post-Civil War depression and the 1873 panic was foreshadowed in the 1867 report of the Worcester Public Library. The crowding of both reference and reading rooms was here attributed to the business depression. In 1874 and 1875 this observation was confirmed. Moreover, in the latter year, the library administration began to squirm under the "harmful policy" of cutting appropriations during hard times. The tapering-off of the

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depression in 1879 found its corollary in a decrease of circulation which was readily explained by the general resumption of business and a consequent smaller need for filling unoccupied time.²⁷

The library management at Lawrence, Massachusetts, was so sensitive to the ebb and flow of local business activities that one gets a fair picture of fluctuating economic fortunes of the city by reading the library reports. In 1874 we are told that registration figures were not likely to increase because of the transient nature of populations in manufacturing cities, but that the closing of the mills, or some similar cause, might result in a considerable increase in circulation. In the following year increased borrowings were attributed to an enlarged stock of fiction as well as to the fact that some of the mills had ceased production and others were running on half-time. In 1877 and 1878 the trend continued except during a short pré-election boom in the latter year. A drop in circulation reported in the 1880 report was explained on the basis of a resumption of specie payments and a return to prosperous times. By this time there had been sufficient experience to warrant a generalization which read as follows:

During periods of financial distress and business stagnation, men being thrown out of employment have more time to devote to literature; and as trade declines, library circulation increases. Now that we are enjoying a remarkable degree of prosperity, each one intent upon his business, and few idlers to be found, except from choice, there is less leisure for reading and all libraries experience a falling off in their circulation.²⁸

When bad times returned four years later this theory seemed to be upset. This time, when the Washington Mills which employed large numbers of operatives closed down, the circulation dropped. Although the library questioned the quality of its service and re-examined the service needs of its clientele, the real explanation lay in the substantial diminution of the population which resulted from the closing of the mills.²⁹

The library at Brookline, Massachusetts, proud of its circulation growth in the depression period, made occasion to demonstrate the great humane service this institution was performing by providing a rendezvous for the unemployed. The town was fortunate to have such a "safe asylum for hands and brains that might, through forced idleness and discouragement, be led to harm."³⁰

By 1893 there was little doubt left in the minds of library adminis-

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trators as to the relationship between depression unemployment and library circulation.³¹ At Lynn, nearly eleven thousand more books were issued in 1894 than 1892, and there were many standing-room-only hours for reading-room patrons.³² In New York, where existing staff and space facilities could under no circumstances handle the increased pressure of hard times (1893-94), the local Relief Committee—the forerunner of countless similar agencies of the twentieth century—sent six women and one man to assist. A few of these “reliefers” found their way into the profession, having been retained by the library by reason of their satisfactory service.³³

Technical Education

The national self-consciousness and spirit of competition with European countries which was born in the Revolution and nourished by the war of 1812 rested to a large extent upon the rate of development of our industries and upon our rapid strides in all fields of science and technology. The role which public libraries were expected to play in the dissemination of useful knowledge has already been traced through the history of semi-public and early public libraries. Probably most outstanding in their stress on the “economical” advantages of the diffusion of practical knowledge were Francis Wayland and John B. Wight, who, it will be remembered, were clergymen and neighbors. Both placed their reliance on the broadest possible kind of education as a means of achieving material supremacy through intelligent exploitation of God-given resources. However, whereas Wayland was thinking in terms of the nation as a whole in competition with such advanced countries as England and Switzerland, Wight held forth the promise of a Massachusetts superior to all other states by virtue of its legislative provision of public libraries (Chapter II, *passim*).

The idea that the influence of well-educated mechanics would make itself felt, not only in local prosperity but throughout the nation, frequently found its way into library dedications and other source literature. It was urged that every effort be made to gather into libraries the works which were needed by our “ingenious” mechanics and inventors who were “second to none throughout the world.”³⁴ Those who attended the opening of the Allegheny Public Library, a Carnegie benefaction, heard President Harrison tell how it was only through the mental development of the men who ran the mills that these local industrial advances, as well as the prosperity

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of the country as a whole, could be achieved.³⁵ When influential interests of a purely local character were being appealed to, the values of increased occupational skill were calculated in terms of dollars and cents. In one case a speaker pointed to the census and patent reports over a number of years to demonstrate that there was a direct proportional relationship among the states between property evaluation and the number and value of their mechanical inventions.³⁶

In drives for greater financial support or against threatened decreases, the importance of books to local enterprise was brought to public attention.³⁷ The Worcester Public Library spoke convincingly of the equal stake everyone in the community held in adequate provision of books; it described the local economy as one in which the chief occupations were the mechanic arts ". . . pursued not in large organizations owned and controlled by a few persons, but cultivated with that variety of pursuit, which gives each individual his choice of the fields of labor. . . ." ³⁸ It is truly apparent that Elihu Burritt, who engaged in his mechanical and literary pursuits close to the center of New England library activity, might have reserved some of the enthusiasm he expended on the Birmingham (England) Free Library for the treasures which public libraries were offering to inventive genius at home.³⁹ In the very first decades of the American public library, "this repository of genius and skill" was offered for the guidance and stimulation of skilled workers of every kind.⁴⁰ Some writers and speakers made bold to offer the public library as a complement, supplement, or even substitute for special industrial or technical schools.⁴¹ This idea must have applied with special force to the free reading room of Cooper Union, opened in 1857 with the specific aim of carrying forward a program of vocational education.

The Librarian Serves Commerce and Industry

Public libraries by the nature of their conception and purpose were general in scope. However, by the very fact that they achieved their greatest development in industrial and trading communities, their special virtues in distributing economic and technical information were frequently singled out. By 1890, librarians as a professional group seem to have conceived it as their special mission to bring the library to the industrial employee. They put forward their institution as a worthy substitute for the schools, which many people had not been able to attend for very long "owing to circumstances." Libraries were the higher education for unfortunate thousands who

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had not had the opportunity to get schooling in their youth.⁴² A propaganda pamphlet in behalf of state aid to libraries stated that the library would help regain some ground lost in the battle of life at that time when necessity compelled young people to transfer from schoolroom to factory.⁴³ State library associations made use of the same type of publicity, pointing out the need for libraries in towns where large percentages of foreign-born operatives were employed, or in country towns from which young men were drifting to large cities because of the absence of cultural agencies.⁴⁴

The profession soon took steps to implement its claims by contacting industrial personnel. In one instance, special circulars were sent to all the manufacturers in a Massachusetts city asking them to encourage their employees to use the library. In another, manufacturers permitted the library to distribute circulars and book lists among the operatives as they left the mills. One innovation consisted of placing boxes of borrowers' applications at strategic points in several factories. These boxes bore an inscription which emphasized the "free" aspect of borrowing books at the public library.⁴⁵

By no means, moreover, did the profession overlook the vocational-technical education aspect of their work. Perhaps this entree into the public consciousness was most effective because it contained the greatest measure of palpable truth. This *raison d'être* was practical, comprehensible, and convincing to all, including factory manager, owner and employee. The mechanic and artisan saw in the library a means of making themselves more proficient, thereby increasing their wage-earning power. The entrepreneur could envisage a better product and a consequently higher profit.

Samuel Swett Green advised his fellow librarians that annual appropriations are sometimes proportionate to one's ability to demonstrate to successful men-about-town the practical advantages of books. These people must be shown, said he, that a large collection on "technical subjects adds to the material prosperity of the town or city." To prove his point, he cited many statements of businessmen relating to direct benefits to industry through technical information, and to indirect benefits through the workers' increased theoretical and practical knowledge of industrial technics. These businessmen also showed an appreciation of the good derived by workingmen by way of increased opportunity for advancement and growth of self-respect.⁴⁶

Library promoters often stressed the need for books by all types of

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workers who sought improvement in their trade. In the manner of the pulp success stories of the day, librarians offered assistance to young workers in their rise from newsboy beginnings.⁴⁷ In short, the more active library publicists were promising hard, practical, tangible profits to all concerned. Their greatest emphasis, however, lay on the dollar dividends which would accrue to leaders in economic life from the enhanced skill of hired labor.⁴⁸

THE WORKERS' POINT OF VIEW

Labor and Its Organizations

This treatment has thus far been concerned with the social needs of the period as they were interpreted and articulated by employers and by those professional intellectual groups who were interested in the mass distribution of culture. Whatever else may be said of the class allegiance of educational leaders, the materials of history certainly do not indicate that public library protagonists and enthusiasts were acting as spokesmen for the wage-earners as a social group or for the organizations which workingmen formed in the interest of their own material and cultural advancement. Even granting beforehand that the major labor organizations—the National Labor Union, the Knights of Labor, and the American Federation of Labor—were too deeply concerned with the basic working conditions of labor to consider any educational objectives higher than securing free public schools for their children, it is of supreme interest to study how far the wage-earner went in seeking library facilities for himself and his family. If organized labor did not constitute an active, vital force in the public library movement, an examination of the characteristics and extent of its library activities contributes, nonetheless, toward completing the picture of American library history.

It is altogether conceivable, either because the tax-supported library was not yet entrenched in the permanent culture of our nation, or because labor organizations were suspicious of capitalistic control of public education, that the workers were confining their library participation to non-tax-supported institutions. Indeed there is every reason to believe that workingmen of the period were thinking largely in terms of their own cooperative efforts, thus retaining the orientation of an era when public libraries were unknown. We know, for example, that as early as 1839, the Philadelphia General

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Trades Union resolved to adopt the Mechanics' Library of that city and to increase its value and usefulness by constructing new buildings and adding facilities.⁴⁹ We know also of the series of libraries attached to workingmen's clubs, and institutes in the 1840's and 50's which thrived under the benign influence of the philanthropist and educator, William Maclure. Maclure left a fund which was to be used expressly "for the purchase of books for societies of workingmen, having corporate organizations and *previous* collections of not less than one hundred volumes."⁵⁰

The only instance of large-scale labor interest in libraries is to be found in a resolution passed at the first meeting of the National Labor Union recommending the establishment of workmen's lyceums and free reading rooms.⁵¹ Within a very short time, moreover, this call was echoed by a resolution of the Workingmen's Union in New York;⁵² it appeared in substantially the same form in the platform of the National Labor Reform Party, and was the substance of a report to a Trades Assembly meeting in Chicago.⁵³ Both the *National Workman* and the *Workingman's Advocate* urged a broad dissemination of the reading-room idea to all parts of their respective cities—and beyond to other cities and manufacturing villages. Shortly before the establishment of the public library in Chicago, the *Workingman's Advocate* besought the employers of that city to establish—in favor of their own interests—a reading room and library to be freely accessible to their employees. A free library and free gymnasium, it was argued, were most effective instruments for combating the evil influences of billiard parlors from which "to the gambling table or brothel is frequently but a step."⁵⁴ The *Advocate* also urged workers to form library and mutual cultivation societies as a part of their united fight against exploitation. In very much the same manner as William H. Sylvis had advised the working class to raise its moral and social position by establishing libraries, reading and lecture rooms "under the management of our own men," the *Advocate* urged its readers to join a trade union, to stay away from saloons, and to set up libraries and lecture rooms for their own entertainment.⁵⁵ It was hoped that "the organization of clubs and associations among the laborers under the lead of able men will soon become the common schools of social science, order and industry"; that a means of self-realization would be available to the worker.⁵⁶

Little is known about the workingmen's institutes which were established as a result of this movement. Available information is

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not sufficient to give us an idea of their extent and influence. An interesting example was the workingmen's Mutual Protective Association, with its free library and provision for discussions, which was organized by the workingmen of the Ninth District of New York City. Symbolic of group solidarity was the exclusion of "office holders and politicians" from membership in this association.⁵⁷

In addition to workingmen's libraries which served entire communities in which they were located, there were several libraries which were established by trades organizations for their own membership. Among the earliest libraries in this category were those opened toward the end of the Civil War by the Trades Assemblies of Philadelphia, Troy, and Chicago.⁵⁸ These libraries were an outgrowth of the same movement which sponsored cooperative stores in large manufacturing communities. Other organizational projects for general labor union libraries are noted in Seattle, Washington and Muncie, Indiana. The first of these was an undertaking of the local Knights of Labor in connection with its union hall; the second, that of a group of labor unions with a grant of five hundred dollars from Andrew Carnegie.⁵⁹ One should mention also the libraries sponsored by specific craft organizations such as the Journeymen Plumbers' Benevolent Society of New York, the Chicago Building Trades Council, and the Montgomery, Alabama division of the Order of Railroad Conductors.⁶⁰

Apparently organized wage-earners did not lack interest in books and libraries. Members of trades unions were still operating within the assumptions of private initiative and therefore depended largely upon their own ventures in mutual assistance and cooperative self-help for the support of adult education projects. Various other "ideas" and movements for social amelioration tended to draw the attention of wage-earners from the desirability of public support for free libraries and other agencies for cultural advancement. People's clubs were organized as cheap imitations of the clubs run for the upper classes. Here were provided reasonably priced food, games, billiards, conversation rooms, and reading rooms which contained magazines, newspapers, and a few books.⁶¹

Notwithstanding the somewhat negative attitude exhibited by unions toward the extension of public tax-supported libraries, it can by no means be said that they were totally oblivious to the movement. These organizations were busy in the uphill task of achieving a respected voice in social decisions regarding fundamental economic

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power; nevertheless, they had enough remaining energy to found libraries of their own—which sometimes attracted broad community attention⁶²—and on occasion participated in local library movements. *A propos* is the role played by the Washington (D.C.) trade unions and the Buffalo Council of United Trades and Labor Unions in the agitation for tax-supported libraries in their respective cities.⁶³ Also deserving of mention are the resolutions passed by the Bartender's Union, the Stationary Engineers' Union, the Lithographers' Association, and other labor organizations in New York City addressed to the mayor in support of the library appropriation.⁶⁴ Other manifestations of the laboring man's attitude are found in the demands his organizations made on existing library facilities, his interest and stake in the question of Sunday-opening, his reaction to the Carnegie philanthropies, and his readiness in other ways to help the library cause.⁶⁵ One situation is related in which a delegation of the local bricklayers' union at Hagerstown, Maryland, pledged one day's work on the proposed library building by each member of the union.⁶⁶ These instances, small as they are, point up labor's positive attitude toward the library movement.

L'affaire "Duncan's Clothes," which occasioned considerable comment in Baltimore newspapers, affords further insight into labor's presumption of a vested interest in free libraries: James Duncan, president of the Baltimore Federation of Labor, had entered the Peabody Institute Library in his work clothes and had been sneered at. A Federation committee was appointed to investigate the management of the Peabody Institute, and union members were urged to exercise extraordinary vigilance to prevent the Enoch Pratt Library from falling into the hands of the "select few" as had the Peabody.⁶⁷

Another aspect of trade union interest in libraries was incidental to a vigorous denial of the claim that workingmen did not use available institutions of mass culture and would not use those which were being established at the time. A counterclaim was made that workingmen were quick to seize upon lectures, concerts, museums, and reading rooms if these were open to them free of charge; that "the working people want more music, more art, more of those refining recreations that impart a bit of flavor to life, and which through the adversity of their condition are all too frequently denied them. Their minds and morals are receptive to such elevating influences. They are not adverse to instruction or to culture. . . ."⁶⁸ The activities of

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women's clubs in behalf of libraries and culture for the working class received honorable mention.⁶⁹

The interest displayed by unions in the educational opportunities of public libraries had its counterpart in the fine reception which librarians frequently gave the workingman and his organizations. Beyond their perennial interest in the occupational categories into which library registrants fell, librarians were ever eager to remark upon the proportion of the readers belonging to the wage earning class and upon the cultural interests of this group.⁷⁰ One professional piece of advice was to make the acquaintance of labor leaders along with other prominent citizens in order to learn the needs of local skilled workers.⁷¹

The Eight-Hour Day

The historical relationship between the struggle for a shorter working-day and the public library movement is best described as the interoperation of a pair of mutually supporting ideas. The shorter work-day was used only on rare occasions as an argument in connection with the extension of library facilities;⁷² more often the public library was used as leverage for the shorter workday demand. The entire process of mass production, division of labor, and a developing economy was releasing more time for leisure and cheaper printed materials for the enlightenment of the wage-earner. Naturally this trend led to speculation as to the further possibilities of a reduction in the work-day.⁷³

To be sure there were many—chiefly among the employers of labor—who predicted that additional leisure time would mean increased daily expenses for workers and would give them more opportunity to habituate saloons and other resorts of ill-repute.⁷⁴ You could provide schools, so the logic ran, but you could not legislate scholars; you could furnish libraries, but not the love of reading. Moreover, the curtailment of working hours would involve a decrease in earning power; if you interfered with a man's right to earn, you were violating a first principle of democracy. An individual's right to earn was his capital. It stood for home, family, schoolhouse, lecture room, church, newspaper, library, travel, social position and "everything that lifts him (a man) out of pauperism into manly independence."⁷⁵ Although there were workmen who shared their employers' point of view, for the most part labor and its sympathizers, as well as many enlightened employers, felt that additional

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leisure time would be used to advantage. A large number in this latter group looked to the local public library as a ready instrument for the purpose. The fact that libraries or other means of improvement had not been provided in some localities certainly was not sufficient reason for retaining long hours of work in factories.⁷⁶

Those who maintained that they were acting in the best moral and economic interest of the workers by demanding greater portions of their time for work in the factory were answered: "Give them a chance."⁷⁷ Our workingmen had been taught to read in the public schools; the state had provided well-stocked libraries; given ample leisure time, the books and the people would seek each other's company.⁷⁸ Claiming they were "too tired to read useful books . . . the most enterprising and intelligent, both of laborers and capitalists," favored the shorter work-day. Reducing the price of books was a futile gesture if not accompanied by a reduction in the hours of labor.⁷⁹ One library dedication address intimated that, in view of the already huge output of our industries, strikes for shorter hours were perhaps justifiable.⁸⁰

The Massachusetts Commission on the Hours of Labor, in its questionnaire to industrial communities, asked what facilities existed for the workingman's leisure time activities. The replies of more than a dozen of these communities made some mention of the public library or some other source of reading materials. Many spoke in general terms of the promise of cultural refinement to accrue from increased leisure. Among the small number of replies received from the factory workers themselves, there was general agreement that free time would allow opportunity for reading and self-improvement.⁸¹ The balance of official opinion in Massachusetts is revealed in the positive attitude taken by the Commissioners of Hours of Labor toward state support for libraries. The interest of society in the hours and conditions of leisure as well as of labor was vigorously affirmed.⁸²

Opinions differed among the philosophers of the labor movement as to how much immediate emphasis should be placed on libraries and similar cultural agencies. Wendell Phillips, abolitionist, humanitarian, and liberal leader, accepted their full face value in the slogan: "Leisure, Schools and Libraries—the means to use leisure well—that is the programme."⁸³ William H. Sylvis, leader of the iron moulders and a prominent figure in the National Labor Union, was somewhat cynical about the establishment of additional institu-

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tions for the improvement of workingmen, who, by reason of having to toil most of their working hours for mere subsistence, were rendered unfit for intellectual pursuits.⁸⁴ In other quarters, experiences with the shortened work-day in England and Australia were cited in evidence that, when given leisure time, the worker patronized public libraries and reading rooms.⁸⁵ George Gunton, among the most prolific writers for the eight-hour day, had much to say concerning the bearing of shorter hours upon the national economy and upon the materio-cultural advancement of the working people. Although his major stress in *Wealth and Progress* and in many short works was on the provision of half-time schools for the unlettered foreign born and uneducated native workers, there were also several indications of his consciousness of the role which libraries were to play, along with schools, churches and other agencies, in increasing the social opportunities of the masses. He argued quite effectively that the worker's state of exhaustion at the end of a long working-day led him to the saloon rather than to resorts of popular culture.⁸⁶

While some confined themselves to using the library idea as leverage for pushing the eight-hour day, the national leadership of the American Federation of Labor was pointing to the "people's university" as a reflection of the glory of organized labor itself. The eight-hour day and an increased standard of living, argued Samuel Gompers, elicited latent tastes and desires from the workers; these tastes and desires in turn resulted in a greater demand for goods and services; thus labor's entire mode of living was going through a metamorphosis. Said he, "The rendezvous of labor, when unorganized, is usually the saloon; when organized it is transferred to the meeting room, the club room or library."⁸⁷

THE FARMER

The fact that free public libraries were a thoroughly urban phenomenon most closely associated with the cultural life of industrial groups does not, by any means, permit us to overlook the farmers' interest in books and libraries. In an era when science and the practical arts were essential for successful agricultural enterprise, cultivators of the soil began to drop their suspicious attitudes toward book learning and to look to the written word both for help and entertainment. This was true at first only of the more substantial class of American farmers who belonged to horticultural and agricultural societies or could purchase libraries of their own. These

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were the farmers who supported those early agricultural periodicals which served as organs of intellectual exchange among the scattered American agriculturists.

It is in these periodicals that we find communications and editorials urging farmers to buy books, establish farmers' libraries and reading circles. We find also reports of the establishment of such libraries.⁸⁸ These institutions which were at first conceived, in the manner of mechanics' libraries, as repositories of materials of practical advantage were later seen as measures toward the intellectual advancement of the farmer and his children. Good books were also expected to help alleviate the winter loneliness and isolation of rural life. The grangers, in their statements of organization as well as in their annual reports, made much of libraries proposed for grange halls and meeting places. There is, however, very little in the literature which describes their operation or gives any indication as to their degree of success.⁸⁹ Beyond this clear interest in farmers' libraries of the "social" type, we have only scant evidence of farmers' influence upon the free library movement. There are a few early examples of public library awareness in agricultural circles,⁹⁰ and about as many references toward the end of the century when traveling libraries were reaching out to serve the more sparsely populated areas of our states.⁹¹ Many agricultural libraries were absorbed by newly organized small town libraries.

American workingmen in field and factory justly merited their reputation as readers of books. Their response to the opening of free libraries affirmed what European observers had repeatedly said about the superior intellectual habits of the American working class.

Were general culture and entertainment the prime objective of this vast preoccupation with reading? Or were readers predominantly interested in the improvement of their vocational skills and consequently of their earning power? Leaders in the economic life of communities wishfully thought that working people might forget their deprivations if offered this new possibility of improving their lot. The enhancement of labor's technical ability was of course most welcome to employers, and library promoters were quick to use this idea in their campaigns. Humanitarian intellectuals and philosophers of the labor movement stressed the moral and broad cultural aspects of libraries. Library statistics demonstrated that reading for entertainment was the order of the day.

Philanthropist donors of library buildings recognized all these

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functions of mass reading and emphasized them in varying degrees when making public statements with regard to their library gifts. Their rationale of giving, however, may not be reduced to terms as simple as those implied in the benefits of reading. Library philanthropy, which had much in common with other philanthropies, was often an expression of the individual giver's psychological needs. Motives were complex and variable, and it is impossible to discern in them any pattern of wide applicability. The history of library philanthropy is rich in human interest and merits a detailed elaboration.

Chapter. 8. THE STIMULUS OF PHILANTHROPY

THE CAUTION MAINTAINED IN THE HISTORICAL TREATMENT OF SPEECHES and reports originally designed for public consumption must be applied with greatest force to the study of library philanthropy. Here more than anywhere else the absence of "detailed data about the psychological dynamics of men and women involved" places severe limitations upon the hypotheses and conclusions we seek to establish.¹ The historical process dealt with is one in which the component events are for the most part local; the results of this process, as far as can be determined, proceed largely from the socio-psychological drives of individuals rather than from the aims of social or political groups.

The bulk of verbal evidence emanating from the philanthropists or their admirers doubtless presents a picture of motives laudable in the highest degree. So plentiful is the literature telling of the donor's love for the whole of mankind, or of his religious conception of duty and divine command, that this type of historical motive will be accepted at its face value.

Without detailed psycho-biographical information about large numbers of generous library patrons it will be difficult to distinguish the genuine from the simulated motive. It will be equally questionable to infer the relationship between the thoughts of individual philanthropists and various observed ideological characteristics of the period. However, examples should be cited of such currents as the friendly exuberance of a rising industrialist group whose swift acquisition of wealth had a liberalizing effect on its purse. A maturing pride in local and national achievements both literary and scientific also helped provide a hospitable climate.

There is this too to be borne in mind, that the habit of participating in humanitarian causes and erecting memorials to deceased men of local prominence had by mid-century become a part of the lives of

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"more fortunate" members of the community. The sponsors of early tax-supported libraries evidently were counting upon philanthropic supplementation when they launched their town libraries:² nor did they hesitate to express their disappointment when assistance was not forthcoming with the expected alacrity and volume.³ These practices of public innuendo and direct solicitation of donations became an integral part of the library movement and at times retarded the achievement of full tax support. A municipal appropriation was doubtless put off into the future in many a local atmosphere of: "What do you say, Mr. Vanderbilt, now that your new palace is finished?"⁴

DEMOCRATIC, RELIGIOUS, AND HUMANITARIAN MOTIVATION

One of the earliest sizeable library philanthropies was that of William Maclure, a native of Ayr, Scotland. Although the blanket bequests which Maclure, a collaborator in Robert Owen's New Harmony experiment, left to workingmen's institutes upon his death in 1840 were not made to wholly public institutions, the libraries formed under the auspices of this fund either served as foundation structures for many town libraries subsequently established or supplemented local free town libraries.⁵

Joshua Bates stands out in library history because, first, he is associated with that most influential, seminal institution, the Boston Public Library; second, his gift to this library was a most substantial one for its day; third, it became a point of reference for many subsequent monetary gifts to public libraries; fourth, we have available to us his correspondence which sheds light on the donor's rationale of giving. Bates was a self-made man who, upon achieving eminent success as a merchant-financier, expressed his gratitude for reading facilities offered him in his own impoverished youth by helping to provide something he felt was sorely needed by impecunious young men of every generation. This part of his thinking was frankly humanitarian; but, in insisting that the quarters be as comfortable as those generally provided for the upper population strata, he revealed a democratic desire to make the new institution a symbol of equal opportunity. "Let the virtuous and industrious of the middle and mechanic class feel that there is not so much difference between them (and the upper class)."⁶

Though inclined to agree with Ticknor on the advisability of stocking the library with popular current books, Bates felt that, when it

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came to purchasing duplicate copies, these should be "works of real knowledge." When he took occasion himself to send books from London for the Boston Public Library, he chose books in law, economics, finance, the classics—in short, as he said, books that might be of use to a commercial community. These books were chosen, he explained, because he found that "the instruction they (young people) obtain at school gives them very little real knowledge, and if left to themselves they would waste their time in railroad literature." By railroad literature he meant the cheap, sensational and harmful—so considered by contemporary guardians of public morality—novels which were commonly sold at railroad stations. The role he expected libraries to play in educating adolescents and young adults is indicated in his advocacy of the preparation of reading courses in the several branches of knowledge.⁷

Public library philanthropy stemming from ideas such as these fell within James Russell Lowell's conception of a true understanding of the benign influence of democracy.⁸ Here the intelligence of the masses combined with opportunities for wealth, constituted the very cornerstone of democracy.⁹ Those who had attained riches continued to associate their welfare with that of the class from which they had but recently risen. The philanthropy of the upper crust could reach the lower without the stigma of charity because the public library was the common property of all.¹⁰

Moreover, as a natural consequence of the absence of hereditary fortunes in our country, men of wealth tended to allocate their fortunes—sometimes during their own lifetime—to educational and cultural purposes. Unlike the old-world practice of devoting wealth to insure permanent comfort and luxury to a few people, our concentrations of property were used to open wide for "free common resort and possession of the people" these treasure houses of knowledge.¹¹

There were numerous expressions of gratitude to donors' native towns and localities in which particular business successes were made. These instances reinforce the idea that the economic pattern had produced a large number of men with comparatively small accumulations of wealth who retained fairly close psychological identity with their less fortunate townfolk.¹² At times this appreciation, which derived from a pleasure reaction to the people and place associated with success, was mixed with the idea that some remuneration was due for skills contributed by local workingmen.¹³ This idea was ac-

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ceptable enough for at least one board of trustees to use it in urging the local business men to be good to their public library.¹⁴ A rhymed jingle which was read at a dedication put the matter rather neatly:

O Mother town! rich in thy good,
Strong in thy noble motherhood,
Receive from him, thy worthy son,
This evidence of greatness won.

Receive and guard it long and well
May children's children love to tell
How he, by honesty and truth,
Arose to wealth from humble youth;

And, when the time was ripe to sow
His second harvest, caused to grow
This home of culture and renown—
Forgetting not his native town.¹⁵

The religious counterpart of this half sentimental, half practical orientation to library philanthropy was merely another application of the stewardship of wealth, or the "consecration of capital to God." If an individual were blessed by the Almighty with wealth, this blessing must have been deserved. With it, moreover, went the responsibilities which were entailed in the trust; the receiver of the blessing had to discharge the social obligations of his stewardship. The chosen few "to whom Providence has been bountiful and who feel the responsibilities of the stewardship to which they have been called . . . send forth for the well-being of their fellowmen, the rich streams of their bounty directed and hallowed by elevated thought and self-forgetting charity, to cheer, to refresh, to renovate, to bless."¹⁶

Steward-philanthropists pictured for us by associates and admirers were generally prudent, sagacious, firm in purpose, persevering, and possessed of a "high sense of honor with a well-developed but thoroughly enlightened old New England conscience. . . ."¹⁷ In short they were that combination of Puritan character, possessed of middle-class, shrewd but honest (as defined by accepted business ethics) enterprise, which was subsequently to find its embodiment in Andrew Carnegie. The gospel of wealth was far more satisfying to rich Protestants and their white collar adherents than was the gospel of grab of Jim Fiske, Daniel Drew and their Wall Street associates. Stewardship satisfied the social-responsibility requirement of their religion.

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that, contrary to the fears of some of their European cousins,²⁰ education in all forms was the easiest and safest way to salve economic irritations of the classes.

Statements of the problem ranged from calm reasoned analyses to headlong attacks. In the first category, there was the type of statement which admitted the existence of differences between employer and employee and suggested the use of intelligent conference in arriving at adjustment. "Books are far better than bayonets" was an expression of this attitude.²¹ In the second category, we have an hysterical exhortation, in the name of self-preservation as well as philanthropy, that the wealthy citizens of a town dig into their pockets and bring forth a library. The horrible experience of the Paris Commune was interpreted as being a result of men's ignorance of their own rights and the rights of others. Men of wealth were warned to consider the large foreign-born population of their town (Providence, Rhode Island, in one instance) and to prepare against the menace of "Communism—subversive of all the rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."²²

Indicative of the subtle operation of this idea is the frequency in the literature of such statements and slogans as "The rich and poor are to be alike welcome at its doors . . . the masses who wield the hammers of toil and the unenvied few who are reared in affluence and ease,"²³ "for people in every station of life"; "for all classes." Still more meaningful are those references which, with less consideration for group sensitivities, speak of the public library as being a place where class differences would not be so much in evidence,²⁴ or "where workmen and employers can meet on the common ground of a common interest. . . ." ²⁵ One should mention also those claims for the inspirational role of the public library in the lives of poor boys who, avidly seizing upon the opportunity to learn, rise "Horatio Alger" style to positions of wealth and affluence.²⁶

It is quite apparent that the failure of existing institutions of adult learning to keep pace with the cultural needs of a growing number of industrial workers gave the public library its opportunity to bid for a front line position. The quiet, conservative mood of the library was hailed as a tempering agency for an unsettled era. In 1866, when the National Labor Union was getting under way and when the International Workingmen's Association was flourishing in New England, the Worcester Public Library trustees observed that "the study of books, the quiet of great libraries, converse with the past, serve to

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temper and chasten" partisan and sectarian passions.²⁷ Railroad strikes in 1877 and further labor unrest in the mid-eighties gave library protagonists added substance upon which to rest their claims. They could advertise their institution as an educator *par excellence* against "excitements, disturbances and violence based on ignorance and idleness." Riots in Pittsburgh, nihilism in Russia, and the Communism of Paris were exhibited to inspire gratitude towards library donors.²⁸ It was observed, however, that the peaceful genre of socialism practiced by the Fabians had gained more of a hold among men of the reading and thinking type.²⁹

A corollary of the argument that educational agencies improved the quality and quantity of production was the belief that a generally enlightened population was more orderly and submissive in crisis situations. A schooled people was "not so easily led away by agitators; in short, more easily and more cheaply governed."³⁰ That ignorance and violence went hand in hand was a truism. Educated workers would have sober views on economic questions and consequently could not be led like cattle by radical leaders, the "communists, anarchists, socialists and disturbers of the public peace." Moreover, given workers with the intelligence of certain labor leaders, e.g., Terence Powderly, head of the Knights of Labor, the perennial fears of business interests would eventually fade away.³¹

Books and libraries were said to be efficacious not only in soothing the savage breasts of labor's men of action, but also in controverting some of the troublesome social philosophies which were beginning to attract the American worker. There was no cure like humility before the intellectual leaders and theorists of the past for wild, visionary ideas of social reform; nothing like the study of history to rout the "economic delusions" of the day. The educational power of the public library could do much toward socializing the socialists, opening their eyes to the whole meaning of the social compact and making them see the follies of their panaceas. What evidence more concrete than library buildings donated to the people could be offered to substantiate the just claim of wealth to what the socialists called an unearned increment.³²

From the deification of the unearned increment to the eulogy of industrialist donors and the celebration of American big industry as such was a simple logical step. What a marvel of synchronized activity, what a producer of universal good was this industrial system! Why, the very donors of these buildings raised themselves from its

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lowest to its topmost rungs by the selfsame equal opportunities which they, as successful leaders, were now acting to perpetuate and extend for others.³³ G. Stanley Hall, pioneer in psychology and president of Clark University, did not stop in his enthusiasm for the good monetary accumulation could do for educational agencies. He went on to expostulate on how business was seizing control of every aspect of American life:

Business is a great machine, the progress, decline and laws of which, in general, economists strive in vain to comprehend and formulate . . . ; but its activities absorb more and more of the very best talent of this country; it more and more controls legislation; its methods and ideals permeate and transform art, education and religion; the legal profession is its servant and it supplies the sinews for everything else. At its best business is the greatest and strongest educational influence in the world today, and it is refreshing to contemplate in a fortune like Mr. Thayer's, how, despite the sneers of the pessimists, its highest rewards are for those who really best deserve them; and in a character like his to note the best product of business, considered as a man-making educational institution.³⁴

If the public library was symptomatic of the desire of wealth to share its gains, the picture would be complete if the beneficiaries of these gifts would acknowledge the receipt of their proper share of the produce. The only tangible reward which would be offered book-schooled labor—in return for its avoidance of unions—was an increased price for improved skills.³⁵ The higher equality with which industrial capital replied to the demand for a better social order was in the form of a greater diffusion of existing cultural values. Would communism result in a greater equality than the sharing in those vast riches stored up in books? Here lay the formula through which the owners of property could eat their cake and have it!³⁶

Although some people sincerely believed that billionaire fortunes were necessarily precedent to gaining the advantages of technology and culture for the population at large,³⁷ many who viewed these charitable benefactions in their broader aspects were saying plainly that these donated libraries were built at the cost of long hours, hard labor, and the material deprivation of the masses of the population.³⁸ In an article which concerned itself with the maldistribution of wealth in America, the *Reformed Church Review* bluntly called it a "shrewd policy on the part of some of our great millionaires to expend a trifle of the gains which they made off the people

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in giving them public libraries. Why libraries? Because he who selects the libraries, as he who makes the songs, of a people may be expected to frame its laws."³⁹

THE LIBRARIAN LOOKS AT PHILANTHROPY

The library profession, with righteous indignation, categorically denied these accusations; for beyond consulting a donor on the structure and location of a proposed library, administrative practices were—as far as the gathered evidence reveals—left entirely to the discretion of librarians and their staffs. In the matter of the selection of books—to be discussed more fully in a later chapter—libraries seem to have been singularly free of direct pressure from their benefactors.⁴⁰

This does not assume, however, that they were also free from the ideas of the controlling groups in their community. Librarians too felt it their duty to counteract what was considered the most alarming social evil of the time, viz., that people were deserting their old leaders and falling prey to false, vicious movements started by ignorant minds.⁴¹ Worse still, "laboring men could not discriminate between their own real interest and such sham reforms as are brought before them by their so-called labor leaders." It was not that the worker could not read or did not read. It was that he read only the things recommended to him by his trade union, and such material could only serve to make it more difficult for him to understand the other side of the question.⁴²

The librarian also concerned himself with the education of the foreign-born worker and the problem of his Americanization. It was most essential that libraries provide the immigrant with some sort of education because of the certainty that, along with discontent, ignorance was one of the prime causes of disloyalty and rebellion.⁴³

Josephus Nelson Larned, Superintendent of the Buffalo Library from 1877 to 1893 and President of the American Library Association in 1894, spoke at length of his fears upon viewing the radical social changes contemplated by populism, Georgism and socialism. He described his period as a "chaotic and anarchic interval" between fixed class alignments and politico-clerical control on the one hand, and an elastic arrangement which it was impossible to foresee, on the other. "On us," he solemnly proclaimed, "falls the clash of social elements breaking out of their old combinations and seeking affinities for the new; the disorder of a crumbling labor system;

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the disturbed security of all provident capital; the shocks of increasing hostility between head and hand, or between schemer and toiler, between pursuer and worker in the industrial world; the persistent mischief of dishonest monetary projects; the continual eruption of mad social theories, anarchic and nihilistic, and the widening acceptance of more innocent and more dangerously delusive social dreams. . . ."44 Larned's unwitting part in the conservative defense during the restlessness engendered by the depression of 1893 was to pit the educational force of the public library against the hasty adoption of new social theories and political innovations. The school of life had been ineffectual in coping with the unrest and discontent of Larned's "age of revolution." It therefore became his concern to provide for the intelligent guidance of the alliances and organizations which were then forming with "appalling facility."⁴⁵

In advising millionaires to channelize their benefactions in the direction of public libraries as a best means of linking their names with the good of their fellow men,⁴⁶ librarians were not necessarily playing a conscious social role; nor were they, by shrewd calculation, accommodating themselves to the wishes of the acknowledged masters of their time. They were merely operating in gear with accepted cultural habits of the day. If other educational institutions beyond the common school were expanding in direct proportion as capital was being accumulated, why should the public library not participate in the expansion? If educational philanthropy was being solicited in other quarters, why should the librarians not do the same? Appeals for public and private institutions were being made by boards of trustees, individuals, literary men, historians, and a host of others, as well as by librarians. The appeals were being made in the name of patriotism, local pride, practicality, egotism and charity.⁴⁷ Even where the public treasury could finance the operation of a public library, rarely could it afford to erect an attractive and suitable building for the purpose. Sooner or later a donor was expected to come forth with a building.

Instances of retardation in the public library movement because of an exclusive orientation to the philanthropy idea were few and generally occurred in large cities like Providence, New Haven and New York. Sometimes the unfortunate investment of bequeathed funds held matters up considerably; or perhaps the presence of a sizable cash gift suggested that a municipality might reduce its library appropriations.⁴⁸ Even in the absence of quantitative historical evi-

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owners, and shoe, furniture and hatting towns faring in like fashion. Boston merchants and financiers sometimes showered their philanthropies on the surrounding localities in which their business transactions were concentrated. The typical businessman donor came from a substantial commercial or farming family, was fairly well educated, entered one of the industries favored by the natural advantages of his region, made significant improvements in the manufacture of his product, and gradually became a stockholder or director—or both—of banking, railroad and miscellaneous industrial enterprises. An election to the state legislature or to congress was sometimes the crowning reward of a successful career as well as a symbol of the prestige which his economic success had earned in the community.

Of the fifty donors the extent of whose education was traceable, thirty-four had graduated from an academy or college, the number having had a college education being the greater; ten had little or no formal education and six may be said to have been moderately educated. Ten are known to have enjoyed a free common school course and three were described as self-taught. As to their educational activities our tabulated score reveals seven school-board members, two founders of educational institutions, seven who aided in the founding of institutions, and six donors to existing educational institutions.

Material as to the religion professed by donors was too spotty to allow a useful summary. Congregationalists were first in rank order and Unitarians second, the contribution of these sects to the library movement being far greater than their numerical proportions in the population of New England.

The same difficulty of uneven research sources was experienced in an attempt to draw an intelligible picture of the philanthropic and humanitarian activities of library donors; the sum of factual data available is not large enough to provide a basis for practicable analysis. There is sufficient information, however, for us to say that individual library donors generally figured in humanitarian and civic movements in addition to their educational interests. Many were contributors—with action as well as money—to the antislavery and temperance movements. Donations for cemeteries, churches, post-office buildings, poorhouses, and institutions for the blind were popular.

Thus it happened that in an atmosphere of social responsibility

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such as pervaded New England, selectmen, mayors and aldermen oftentimes preferred to canvass the town in search of a donor rather than to deplete the public coffers. Men of means, but one or at most two generations removed from the economic status of the ordinary folk who were their neighbors, were acquiring the habit of sharing their good fortune with the community. The best way of doing this was worked out in the third quarter of the nineteenth century when many a donor offered to build a library only on the condition that permanent local tax support was guaranteed. This practice was later systematized by the greatest library-giver of them all—Andrew Carnegie. In marked contrast to the stimulus toward public support provided by Carnegie philanthropy, the Astor family's bequests actually retarded the arrival of full-fledged public library service in the only city to which they were given.

Chapter 9. BIG PHILANTHROPY

ASTOR IN NEW YORK

CONCRETE STEPS ANENT A PUBLIC LIBRARY FOR NEW YORK CITY WERE in motion even before Vattemare started his missionary work in Boston. America's wealthiest man, the trader-landlord John Jacob Astor, had bequeathed four hundred thousand dollars for the institution in a will drawn in 1838. Three years before the solid men of Boston began agitating the public spirit for a city library, an unscholarly, unphilanthropic, fabulously rich old man laid the foundation of a collection which was to rival the best in the old world.

Those who enjoy probing the minds of culture-donors for motivating ideas and circumstances will have little interest in the Astor library bequest. The fact is that the very donor of so princely a sum was himself none too interested and certainly not very enthusiastic. The library was the price he was paying for the wisdom and companionship of Joseph Green Cogswell.

Cogswell, who had not been able to make a satisfactory adjustment in the world of higher learning as had his fellow scholars, Ticknor and Everett, seemed finally to be on the road to success when he accepted the librarianship at Harvard University. His rapid departure from this position seems to have ruined his chances for a choice academic post to which, by virtue of his breadth of scholarship and background, he was certainly entitled.¹

After holding a few unsatisfactory school jobs, Cogswell found himself as tutor, salaried companion, and house-guest in the home of the merchant Samuel Ward. Through Ward Cogswell met the aging John Jacob Astor who, too old to engage in active business, was gathering around him men of wit and literary talent for the purpose of advising and amusing him. Astor's mind demanded the companionship of New York's greatest. Cogswell was invited and could not turn down the great landlord's invitation easily.

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The savant Cogswell accepted this position—as secretary with an honorarium of fifteen hundred dollars a year—because he wanted to keep alive Astor's commitment to endow a public library for New York City.² The librarianship of this proposed institution was actually a small consideration in the mind of Astor's last acquired counselor. The donor lacked the zeal necessary to keep the library idea alive. Someone had to be by his side to nurse the germ to maturity and to prevent Astor from changing his mind. Cogswell was sacrificing opportunities for his own material and personal improvement for the sake of "good" learning. Finally, by accepting the secretaryship of Washington Irving's Spanish legation, he forced Astor to take definite steps toward establishing a library. For, rather than see his adviser and companion depart from New York, Astor presented Cogswell with his just rewards for services rendered—the librarianship and *carte blanche* to shape the new library.³

With all his diplomacy and self-abnegation Cogswell could not get his monument under way during Astor's lifetime. Although building plans were discussed, and monetary outlays were made available to Cogswell for the purchase of books abroad, tangible steps toward the actual realization of Cogswell's dream had to await the death of the donor.

When the provisions of the will were being carried out, Cogswell worked with much zest. As librarian and member of the board of trustees, he had almost unlimited power. Despite his background of high learning, he had social instincts which drove him to some extent toward satisfying the needs of the people he was expected to serve. His idea was to buy useful books rather than rarities. His principle of book-collecting was to follow the wants of the community and to buy such things as could not be found in other New York libraries. His former resistance to "practical" education had been largely broken down by 1848 and he allowed books in the mechanic arts and practical industries, books pertaining to scientific research, to geological and archaeological discoveries, to occupy a prominent position in the library's collection.⁴

Cogswell tried hard to transcend his prejudices born of long association with people of aristocratic bent. By the time Andrew Jackson's presidency was coming to a close, Cogswell seemed truly imbued with many of the democratic principles of his contemporaries. But the humanitarian emotions and philosophy which motivated agitators for public education and popular weal never entered his

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make-up.⁵ He yielded easily to service limitations imposed upon his administration by financial or physical considerations.⁶

The keeper of the Astor loved his books so well that he decided to keep all of the bookstacks closed to readers. "It would have crazed me," he wrote to Ticknor, "to have seen a crowd ranging lawlessly among the books and throwing everything into confusion. . . ." Another of his grievances was that the library was too crowded. Unable to see the point in having boys reading novels and translations of their classical texts, Cogswell had the admittance age raised to seventeen. Added to these drawbacks to the full usefulness of this library was the sad omission of provision for gas lighting: the Astor could not be opened evenings! To all these flaws in a public library Ticknor seems not to have voiced objection, at least not in his letters to his friend Cogswell. It is all the more remarkable then, that Ticknor's notions about a library for Boston were diametrically opposite to what he was witnessing in New York.⁷

The public reaction to Astor's library ranged from complete acceptance and joyous welcome to utter condemnation. There were those who saw in this gift only a symbol of America's growing cultural stature. There were others who recognized the image of exploitation in New York's first great library and refused to accept it without protest.

The world of literati was overjoyed as it contemplated its newly acquired repository of knowledge. Now America was beginning to vie with Europe in book collections which would satisfy investigators in every subject; now, at last, Americans were starting to study serious subjects. To those who objected that the Astor Library would not answer the vast demand for popular books, the scholars replied that these could be purchased readily in the new, cheap paper, steam-press editions.

Readers of lighter literature, said the aristocracy of literary talent, should borrow their books—if they did not wish to buy them—in libraries of lesser pretensions. Apprentices, clerks, mechanics and merchants had access to fine libraries for trifling sums paid annually. For ten dollars a year a merchant could have access to the thirty-five thousand volumes of the Society Library. There were also available a Free Library for the printers, the reading rooms of the Y.M.C.A.'s, of Congregationalist unions, and so on through numberless book collections. Who have been discriminated against? Our scholars and authors, of course! The very writers of the popular

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works we hold in such high esteem! The Astor was the long awaited answer to the needs of these producers of literature and knowledge.⁸ That European scholars and men of science spoke of the Astor as an outstanding institution, that the Astor was a show spot for visiting royalty, these were adequate answers to the few respectable newspapers which really knew better than to make discourteous remarks.

Newspaper accounts at the opening of the library were mostly favorable. They mentioned the disadvantages of the library's location far from the homes of the general populace, the absence of gaslight for evening use, the limitations of the collection, and regulations for access. They felt, however, that the trustees were doing their best, that the restrictions were quite understandable, and that the trustees would remedy evils wherever possible. In short, newspaper editors were in accord with New York's literary clique.⁹

On the other side of the balance, the remarks were sometimes colored by prevalent attitudes towards Astor's wealth and the means he had used to attain it. There were references to his greed and his aspirations toward building an aristocratic "house" in America. Horace Mann was among those social critics who felt that Astor and his class were "hoarding wealth for the base love of wealth." In one of his frontal attacks on the feudalism of capital, he singled Astor out "to point a moral," as he said,

only because I suppose him to have been the most notorious, the most wealthy, and considering his vast means, the most miserly of his class, in the country. Nothing but absolute insanity can be pleaded in palliation of the conduct of a man who was worth nearly or quite twenty millions of dollars, but gave only some half million of it for any public object. . . . In the midst of so much poverty and suffering as the world experiences, it has become a high moral and religious duty to create an overwhelming public opinion against both the parsimonies and squanderings of wealth.¹⁰

James Gordon Bennett, editor of the *Herald*, was another of Astor's harsh critics. Bennett did not blame Astor as much as he did the "distinguished literary men, philosophers and poets" who advised him.¹¹ Bennett's idea would have been for Astor to return to New York City and its people that part of his accumulated wealth which derived from the physical growth of the city, its aggregate intelligence, industry and enterprise. The complaints leveled against Astor's three trustees who constituted the literary representation on the board—

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Fitz-Greene Halleck, Washington Irving and Cogswell—were justified. Their shortcomings were nevertheless quite understandable. A minor poet, a seeker of the exotic past, and a connoisseur-scholar—all without deep social convictions of their own—would naturally fall into the ways of the court which they lauded.

The composition of the Astor's self-perpetuating board of trustees reveals more clearly the reasons why changes in the library's policy were difficult and slow. Besides the literary representation and the leaders of New York's aristocratic churches, who were generally elected to fill places in this section of the trustee group, there was the inevitable Astor to represent the family—grandsons, nephews, grand-nephews, sons-in-law and so on down the line. The first board included the wealthy and prominent Samuel Bulkley Ruggles, James Gore King, Daniel Lord, and Sam Ward, Jr. Later a few political leaders were elected to serve.

At the death of each succeeding Astor, the underfed library they were maintaining for the city of New York received a resuscitation by approximately five hundred thousand dollars. Inasmuch as each succeeding family head died with a much larger fortune than he had come into, the public's disgruntled remarks continued unabated. John Jacob Astor III, a collector of manuscripts and fine editions, was the largest contributor, having given eight hundred and fifty thousand dollars by the time of his death. When William Astor died in 1892, he left a paltry fifty thousand dollars.¹²

Even patient people had become disgusted with the scant, badly placed 9 to 4 opening hours of the Astor.¹³ Most of the readers observed in its halls were school children, ladies of leisure and the unemployed. The joyous odes upon the rubbing of elbows by capitalist and mechanic in the Astor were, to one writer, fanciful and absurd. At neither end of the economic scale was it possible for one to spend more than a few minutes in the library looking up a small item for a very specific purpose. This was the age of invention. Mechanics and mechanics' sons should have been able to use the Astor's mighty collection for everlasting benefit; but they could not get there before four in the afternoon. "It is an apt and eloquent commentary on the democracy of America," thought the same writer, "that the books most constantly in demand, in proportion to their number in this library, are those on the subjects of Heraldry and Genealogy."¹⁴

Folks criticized the Astor for its churlishness, its undermanned

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staff, its indifference to the public, its possible retarding effect on the establishment of a real public library. Some even resented the name which savored private ownership and control. The press was replete with suggestions for reorganization and improvement. The answer came with the consolidation of the Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations in 1895.¹⁵ At the beginning of the twentieth century the library expanded into full public service when Carnegie branches were established in various parts of the city.

THE LENOX LIBRARY

When the bachelor merchant, James Lenox, founded his library for the use of the public in 1870, there was not the slightest pretense that this was a general library for general use. It was composed mainly, of special collections that the donor had bought in his long career as a collector. The library was a lasting monument to his devotion to history, literature and art. Everyone was invited but only scholars and special students could expect to be welcomed and satisfied.¹⁶

Doubtless the trustees had ideas about making the Lenox more popular, but they were restricted by the nature of the institution and by their obligations to execute the founder's wishes. They too, as in the case of the Astor, were preeminently New York professional or businessmen, friends of Lenox, or family connections. There were William Henry Aspenwall, merchant, railroad and steamship director and owner, and Chamber of Commerce leader; John S. Kennedy, philanthropist-financier, who was heavily engaged in railroad and other business enterprises; Robert Lenox Kennedy and Henry Van Rensselaer Kennedy, financier nephew and grandnephew respectively of James Lenox; Alexander Maitland and Robert Hoe, both engineers, the latter having made his fortune out of the manufacture of printing machinery.

The public reaction to New York's second great library beneficence is ably portrayed in a skit which appeared in one of *Life's* series, "Popular Science Catechism." This terse colloquy was accompanied by a scene in caricature which portrayed bolted doors and cannon to keep prospective readers away; several students were hanging from scaffolds attached to the cornices of the library building. The skit has already been reproduced in a contemporary issue of the *Library Journal* and in Lydenberg's *History of the New York Public Library*. Many of the lines are worth repeating:

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What is this?

This dear is the great Lenox Library.

What is it for?

Nobody knows.

But I thought you said it was a library?

So I did.

Then there must be books in it?

Perhaps.

.....

But I though you said it was a public library?

So I did.

Then how can they keep people out?

By locking the doors.

But why?

To keep the pretty books from being spoiled.

Gracious! What are all those brass things on the roof?

Cannon dear.

What are they for?

To blow the heads off students who want to get in.

Why! and see those gallows!

Yes dear.

And people hanging!

Certainly, sweet.

Who are they?

Students who got in.

.....

The library profession, self-conscious as ever of its obligations to serve the scholar, refused to take this satiric criticism seriously. Everything in its place! The Lenox was a kind of literary museum for specialized students and nothing more must be expected of it. "One might as well complain," remarked Charles Ammi Cutter editorially in an issue of the *Library Journal*, "that the Zoological Museum does not give up its stuffed birds to furnish Christmas dinners to the poor, or that portolanos are not used to teach geography from in the public schools."¹⁷ This explanation, however, failed to satisfy agitators for better library service in New York City.

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CONSOLIDATION

"New York's great need" of a popular free library was for many years a frequent subject for magazine articles and newspaper editorials.¹⁸ The Astor, by partly filling this gap in New York's cultural life, helped to keep this need from becoming too pressing. The New York Free Circulating Library, established in 1879 by a philanthropic group started receiving some municipal funds after seven years of private operation and thus served to keep clear the collective conscience of the city fathers. There were also other small privately supported libraries in this class. Then, too, there were the mercantile and apprentices' libraries, the subscription libraries in Washington Heights and Harlem, and the parochial libraries of the Cathedral Library Association. All of these combined did not add up to what Boston, New York's commercial rival, had achieved at mid-century.¹⁹

This situation began to resolve itself satisfactorily in 1892 when the parties who had been contesting the will of Samuel J. Tilden (prominent during his lifetime in local and national politics) reached a settlement. This will had instructed the executors to incorporate under state law a Tilden Trust empowered "to establish and maintain a free library and reading room in the City of New York. . . ." After three years discussion as to how the trust would best accomplish its purpose, an agreement was made with the Astor and Lenox trustees to combine all three funds in a single unit and to absorb as many as possible of the other free and subscription libraries of the city into one large municipal system.

Even this arrangement lacked the full freedom of public operation which Boston had achieved more than forty years before. A combined board of trustees, drawn from the old independent groups, retained control over that part of the institution—the reference department—which was not to receive tax support from the city government.

CARNEGIE IN PITTSBURGH

Carnegie's Social Ideas

"Father Andy," as a grateful nation nicknamed Andrew Carnegie, arranged his library philanthropies so as not to encourage the charity psychology which hampered free library progress in New York City.

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His system gave little comfort to local politicians who were shirking community responsibility while waiting for some wealthy patron to appear with funds sufficient to create and support a library. Believing the educational function in a democracy to be the peculiar province of the state, he limited his own activities to the donation of buildings, and required a guarantee from each municipality that a library would be established and adequately financed by annual appropriations. Carnegie's role in the library movement was not that of an initiator; it was rather that of a stimulant to an organism which might have rested long on a plateau had it not been spurred on to greater heights. The free library had started on a firm foundation in New England and doubtless would in time have embedded itself in the public consciousness of the entire nation. However, at the time Carnegie appeared on the scene with his novel scheme of helping him who first helps himself, the retarding influence of "waiting for a Lenox" was making itself felt in many frustrated local library movements. His philanthropy was designed in such a way that the officers of municipalities would have to justify themselves annually to their citizens for not accepting the well-publicized standing offer of a public library building. This arrangement acted in much the same way as the New Hampshire library law which required an annual vote of "inexpedient" from each town which failed to establish a library.

The great ironmaster consistently eschewed any form of giving which might encourage a relaxation of effort on the part of recipients of his gifts. Gifts which had the taint of pauperism, thought he, would stifle that initiative which lay at the foundation of our glorious republic. A library of the people had to be supported by the people. The independent masses must remain independent in their upward movement of social betterment. This state of things could be maintained in the instance of public libraries by a wholesale system of bribery. The building which a community got for nothing—and, said Carnegie, people will take anything for nothing—was actually bait to ensnare holders of the public purse.²⁰

Popular initiative, participation and control were the desired aims; for they were basic to America's fluid, evolutionary social organization. Carnegie pressed this idea with such vigor that at times he seemed to be the spokesman of the political left-wing itself. Parts of his speech before a group of Brooklyn citizens are in point:

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Surely there should be little trouble in bringing this matter before the voters, the masses of the people, and obtaining their strong support to a movement to press authorities to act according to the authority given, because no class in the community is to be benefited so clearly and so fully as the great mass of the people, the wage-earners, the laborers, the manual toilers.

.....

The free library is the library of the working classes, and I am persuaded that all that is necessary for you, who testify by your presence tonight your interest in the question, for the good of others rather than your own, to do is, to appoint a body of those most zealous among you to visit the various workshops, to obtain the signature of every industrious toiler you approach to a petition. . . .²¹

Strong indeed must have been Carnegie's belief in the forward march of man for him to have uttered such exhortations to the people. Nor is it necessary to interpret the above quotation as rank insincerity. It was true that the structure of American society with its individualism, its economic and social opportunity, had permitted him and many others to rise from positions of obscurity to the limelight of their time. Carnegie was sure that the system of capitalistic democracy which had proved that its climate was favorable to man's surge upward would continue to deliver the greatest good to the greatest number.²²

The reaction of the Tory *Saturday Review*²³ to Carnegie's gift to Edinburgh, Scotland, reflects rather aptly one aspect of the Laird of Skibo's democratic premises. The thing which had irritated the *Review* was the utter thrashing administered to the British nobility by Carnegie in his *Triumphant Democracy*; the retaliation naturally cast aspersions on the type of trade in which this money had been accumulated. "After all, the fathers of the city may excuse themselves by regarding the plum as a sin offering and Mr. Andrew Carnegie as a penitent." This attitude, it must be admitted, may have had some basis in fact; but it probably stemmed from a disdain for the "vulgar" trade in which Carnegie had engaged or from his status in the eyes of the British aristocracy of a lower-class upstart.²⁴ More pertinent were the remarks which followed in the *Saturday Review* article about the clerk and shopman mentality to which free libraries were intended to cater. The hereditarian prejudices expressed here were those which Carnegie was determined to resist. His prescription for freedom and progress was "education, educa-

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tion, education.”²⁵ The *Saturday Review* was openly decrying a state of affairs in which free agencies of popular culture were “turning out . . . more multitudes of the highly-educated but wholly ungifted men who are the curse of modern civilization.”

Yet, notwithstanding his diatribes against the nobility and his mockery of British obeisance to royalty, Carnegie always included Great Britain among the chief nations in the family council of that great English-speaking people which was destined to dominate the world. It was no accident to Carnegie that the free public library was conceived and fostered in England and America. Anglo-Saxon race imperialism, the study of which was in vogue in university seminars of the 1880's and 90's, became a very vital part of his philosophy of education. Taking off from the educational tradition which was deeply rooted in Scotch Presbyterianism (Carnegie was both Scotch and Presbyterian) he followed the racial theory to the point where he could conclude that race imperialism was based on common race, language, law, literature and religion. Britain and America were the two great sister republics (one uncrowned and the other crowned) of this great imperialism. They were both grappling with the same problems of capital and labor, improved housing for the poor, education of the people, taxation, and laws regulating manufacturing and commerce. These were the two nations in which the voice of the people really counted. They were therefore peculiarly suited for the public library development which Carnegie had chosen to promote.²⁶

Because of the outstanding material, cultural, and social advances made by Anglo-Saxon nations in the nineteenth century, Carnegie singled them out for leading the consolidation and elaboration of these gains. His adherence to evolutionary doctrine naturally led him to believe in the possibility of a continually improving social organization. Prejudice, hatred, superstition, in short all evils born of ignorance, constituted the greatest retarding force to progressive civilization. Just as recent advances in the processing of iron ore had succeeded in removing disruptive chemical elements and had been a triumph in the manufacture of steel, so would the glories of advancing civilization be achieved by “dephosphorizing” man of his unruly characteristics. Information and right principles through education was the formula.²⁷

Carnegie did not, however, give his unqualified endorsement to education as such and in all its forms. He was, for instance, slightly wary of that higher education which produced analysts of the past

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and future but which rendered the educated unfit to cope with the practical problems of the present. He was indeed interested in university scholarship; but his great enthusiasm lay in the realm of spreading useful knowledge among the masses of his fellow men.²⁸ This would have been Knox's idea, thought Carnegie, were he alive at the end of the nineteenth century. The historic Scotch Presbyterian penchant for universal education would have concentrated upon championing grants for technical education and its natural ally, the public library. The general knowledge which the free library dispensed was the kind which enhanced a man's ability to function effectively in the practical world around him. The great inventions of the era had been accomplished by men who studied carefully the operations of their own occupational callings. The library was a perfect auxiliary for this type of study.²⁹

On the other hand, knowledge for immediate and serious purposes was not the only kind the public library should diffuse. The ultimate goal of this educational agency was to implant a taste for reading in the masses in order to start them on the road to higher intellectual attainments. It was partly on these grounds that Carnegie supported the policy of providing large numbers of novels to public library readers. The other aspect of his position on the fiction question was concerned with the emotional relief which works of the imagination yield to "the tired and weary toiler (who) is subjected to monotonous labour day after day, week after week. . . ."³⁰

Carnegie's interest in the poor worker was never that of the sentimental humanitarian. Its moral aspect was always bound up with some justification of the prevailing political and economic system or with the methods Carnegie himself used in the management of his wealth. He frequently celebrated the heritage of poverty because it gave a person, born poor, a chance to fight his own way upward. His answer to the demands of labor for a greater share in the profits of enterprise was that it was not in the worker's interest to have higher wages. Not only would such an indiscriminate distribution of wealth stifle initiative, leaving increased poverty and drunkenness in its trail, but it would also withdraw employment opportunity by discouraging industrial investment. Trifling sums handed out in the form of wage increases would result in added earthly pleasures which were beneficial to neither rich nor poor. The distribution of surplus wealth through the establishment of cultural agencies rendered gains of a higher, spiritual type.³¹ Moreover, the worker received his share

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of the profits in the form of a public library which was, after all, built mostly for the benefit of the wage-earner, was supported by *his* tax payments, and was subject to *his* control as a citizen in the community. This theme took its place as a regular feature in Carnegie's speeches side by side with perpetual insistence that he as a wage-earner had many things in common with the rest of the wage-workers of the world.

To every working man and working woman I should like to say this—when a friend comes from a distance and you wish to show him the numerous attractions of the city of which you are proud, be sure to bring him here; take him in—nobody will stop you . . . and after you have shown him everything, ask him this: What do you think of my property? I have paid and am paying for this; it is mine. . . .

Ladies and gentlemen, there is not such a cradle of pure democracy upon the earth as in the Free Public Library, this republic of letters, where neither rank, office nor wealth receives the slightest consideration; where all men are equal. More than this, here in many instances the poor man having more knowledge of books than the noble or millionaire, is the larger partner in the library.³²

Selling the tax-supported library to the wage-earning class to whom the benefits of such institutions were obvious was easy when compared with the amount and kind of persuasion that had to be used on the upper economic crust. This was of course much truer of the British Isles where class lines were more frankly recognized and discussed. Carnegie's library addresses outside of the United States stressed the defense of middle-class supremacy through mass education; the speeches delivered in this country leaned more toward economic and social uplift. There were prevalent among British conservatives two ideas which Carnegie attacked regularly; that taxation for library support was a socialistic attack on the rights of property; and that the education of those in subordinate positions would father dissatisfaction and revolt.

On the first point, the philosopher-philanthropist explained that society is a conglomerate of interdependent parts in which peace and security were the millionaire's lot only when his fellow masses were educated, self-respecting, and self-supporting. On the second idea, that an educated worker was a disgruntled one, Carnegie had more to say. If the worker were better informed, he argued, he would see the possibilities for advancement and would therefore become

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more ambitious; he would recognize his just rights and at the same time understand his employer's problems; he would learn that evolution, not revolution, was the salvation of his class. Ignorance was the source of all difficulty between capital and labor, ignorance of the employer and employed alike. Each would learn the virtues and aspirations of the other. Conference would replace struggle.³³

Again public libraries were made to order for the task ahead. Let them shelve and encourage the reading of all manner of literature bearing on the relations between capital and labor. Let the people be exposed to communist, socialist, cooperative, and individualist points of view. Let there be a free exchange of ideas and the result which would emerge would be desirable to all concerned. These differences of opinion were a wholesome thing. Through investigation and discussion the worker would soon get to know his employer's aches and pains.

Carnegie sometimes offered to outline for his audiences the knowledge which was available to people who consulted their public library collections with reference to economic questions of current import. For those attracted to the profit-sharing idea, he demonstrated how profits and security values dropped in depression years. The smallness of profits, or lack of them, said he in 1897, would satisfy even the grangers. To the populist advocates of free silver who proclaimed that the gold standard was inimical to the interests of the workers, he replied that capital and labor are one and inseparable, that the profits of one were dependent on the full employment of the other, and that both would prosper if the gold standard were retained.

Study, said he, the question of nationalizing the land and you will see how the people would fare if they were burdened with property which had fallen a third in value. Land was no longer to be considered an unearned increment, but rather an unearned "decrement."

Take the proposal of a recent trade union conference advocating not only the nationalization of land but also of production, distribution and exchange. Consult the authorities in your free libraries and you will be convinced that the present status is preferable. "You hear much of the enormous gains of capital from the mouths of various men, but a study of the question I think shall prove to you that . . . the entire capital of Great Britain invested in shipping and industrial manufacturing concerns, had not only received no return in

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profit for several years past, but that the capital has actually been impaired."

Similarly misconceptions about the concentration of wealth would be clarified if proper study were made. Not only would it be determined that more and more wealth is being distributed among the people but also that general prosperity is the condition of creating millionaires. In other words, only where the many are well-off will a few be wealthy beyond all conceivable needs. If you were seeking a better distribution of man's worldly goods, the inheritance tax was the thing. It did not require revolutionary action; it was constitutional and pretty certain of success in a reasonably short span of time. "It is in my opinion highly probable that even the extreme advocates of revolutionary ideas upon this subject, would have these ideas greatly modified if they only visited the Free Libraries and read and studied what wiser men had to say as to the economical laws under which our race has struggled up from barbarism to its present stage of civilization."³⁴

The lessons on economics indicate a certain sensitiveness, if nothing else, to unfulfilled obligations to mankind. The speeches, reinforced by other writings and communications to and from his associates, demonstrate the defense mechanism factor in Carnegie's ideology of philanthropy.³⁵ However, at no occasion was he more evidently on the defensive than when he had to endure the embarrassment and pain of dedicating the Homestead library. For it was at Homestead only six years earlier (1892) that the management of the Homestead Steel Works had called in three hundred Pinkerton detectives to break a strike called by the Amalgamated Iron and Steel Association. The presence of the Pinkertons incited a pitched battle in which many strikers and spectators were killed by gunfire.

With this background it was not surprising to hear what Carnegie chose to emphasize in his presentation address. The worker's rising level of character, his improved standard of living, his social and political equality—were celebrated with restraint and humility. The men were told that it had been difficult to get the project started because of the low type of laborer in the works at the time of purchase by the Carnegie interests—the intimation being that these were the men who were mixed up in that sad affair of a bygone year. They were casually informed that they were the highest paid workers in the world, that Charlie (Schwab) and other leaders had risen from the ranks, that "the best of all Unions is such a happy union that

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prevails everywhere between the firm and its men, the two contracting parties representing kind, friendly capital and self-respecting labor." And then, the speech, which had been substantially an "apologia" by indirection for the Homestead massacre, recalled with appropriate sadness, the cruel memories of that biggest blot on the Carnegie business career. The words "I feel peculiar at this dedication—Mrs. C. too" probably constituted the biggest understatement of that same business career. Summing up, the strong man of the industrial world of his time dedicated his building to future reconciliation and harmony between capital and labor.³⁶

Notwithstanding the frequency with which the mechanism of the conservative defense appears in Carnegie's papers on philanthropy and related subjects, it has been generally overlooked by students of social thought in favor of the doctrine of "stewardship of wealth" which undeniably figured very strongly in Carnegie's thinking. A fine example of the closely woven combination of both ideas appears in "The Best Fields for Philanthropy":

We need have no fear that the mass of toilers will fail to recognize in such as he (Enoch Pratt) their best leaders and their most invaluable allies; for the problem of poverty and wealth, of employer and employed, will be practically solved whenever the time of the few is given, and their wealth is administered during their lives, for the best good of that portion of the community which has not been burdened with the responsibilities which attend the possession of wealth. We shall have no antagonism between the classes when that day comes, for the high and the low, the rich and the poor, shall then indeed be brothers.³⁷

Without question Carnegie's philanthropy did stem partly from a social inheritance of Scotch Calvinistic teachings. Whether or not the doctrine of stewardship, which was a part of this religious background, was the strongest motivation in his philanthropic enterprises is hard to say. Strongly imbued with the Darwinian theories of "struggle for existence" and "survival of the fittest" he concluded that the concentration of wealth in the hands of a few—the fittest—was a part of the life history described by the evolutionists. The good life for millionaires, it followed, consisted in acting as trustees for the poor and in administering their estates while alive for the best interests of their fellow men.³⁸ This was a satisfying resolution of an apparent contradiction between the moral necessities of religion and the practical necessities of economics.

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Philanthropy in Pittsburgh

The story generally told about the origin of Carnegie's interest in free libraries goes back to mid-century when Colonel James Anderson of Allegheny gave a sum of money for the establishment and support of a library for working boys and apprentices. Carnegie's consciousness of the value of this privilege and his continuing interest in the library itself may have been more than an anecdote of whose truth the author convinced himself by constant repetition. The Anderson Library was really in existence at one time but seems to have lost its "free" character before being absorbed by the prepublic library agencies of Allegheny.³⁹ Regardless of the actual role played by this incident in molding a philanthropic outlook along with the medium of its expression, we must give it more than mere mention because of its apparently complete acceptance by Carnegie himself and, of course, by most of the admirers, biographers, and librarians who wrote about him. This story with the one about the early free library opened at Dumferline by Carnegie's father and two other weavers, was a favorite introduction to dedicatory addresses and so became more prominent in the public mind than other Carnegie library ideas.

Although Allegheny seemed to have first moral claim on Carnegie's attention, his first offer in the United States went to Pittsburgh. The exact nature of this offer is impossible to determine because contemporary newspapers, some in praise and others in resentment, referred to the matter as rumor. One interpretation of the story was that Carnegie had offered a sum of five hundred thousand dollars to make the Pittsburgh Library Association (formerly the Young Men's Mercantile Library and Mechanics' Institute) a free institution provided the city appropriated half that sum. The project did not receive much encouragement and went into hibernation for nine years. Some believed that there was feeling against Carnegie for having made his first free library donation to a city in Scotland (Dumferline, 1879); others that the move was interpreted locally as a bid for the immortalization of the benefactor. Jealousy of Carnegie's great success and anger at his business methods may have turned local businessmen and politicians against this proffered gift.⁴⁰ The absence of legislative sanction in Pennsylvania for appropriations toward such purposes also raised a barrier.

When the offer was renewed in 1890, the old discord rose again.

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This time it was over Carnegie's stipulation that his own appointees to the library board were to be in a majority. The natural accusation was that the giver wished to control the institution; the real reason was that Carnegie was seeking to prevent the political tinkering that had taken place in the library at Allegheny, the first American city to accept a Carnegie library after Pittsburgh's refusal in 1881. The matter was settled easily when the donor proposed a library commission consisting of equal representation for himself and the city.⁴¹ Nor did this compromise silence all objection. Only a week before the library was scheduled for dedication, the question was still being raised as to whether the Pennsylvania constitution permitted a city or a town to contribute to an institution which it did not own and control. Some shouted that the self-perpetuating commission, which had been provided for in the library ordinance, was responsible to no one; others defended it on the ground that it would keep the institution out of the hands of politicians.⁴²

Not even after the building had been dedicated and opened with the blessings of the mayor and city council did wrangling over the library's financial support cease. There were complaints that the increasing budgetary requests had reached a figure six times as large as the donor's original estimate of fifteen thousand dollars per annum. The resistance of the taxpayers was being provoked.⁴³ The city controller categorically refused to sign warrants for the payment of library salaries unless the payroll were transferred to municipal control. A private commission, in his opinion, had no right to control public money.⁴⁴ The question of a bond issue to raise funds for a new library-museum project of Mr. Carnegie's stirred the tempest anew. This time the Chamber of Commerce and like-minded individuals raised their voices in disapproval of an institution 70 per cent of whose book issues were in the fiction category. Was the city spending all that money for pure amusement? Luckily the bond issue in question contained many other public improvement items and was voted upon as a whole. Adverse sentiment on the library portion might have been strong enough to defeat it if it had had to stand on its own merits.⁴⁵

The "healthy breeze of public criticism" which Carnegie believed to be salutary to endowed institutions⁴⁶ certainly did not shun his libraries or the benefactions which created them. Most of the criticism was favorable as the many letters he received from admirers would attest. Newspaper and magazine approbation, and the adulation of

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intellectuals, teachers, and librarians must be added to the positive side of the balance. Of course many of the "fan" letters gradually got around to the point of describing some struggling library or some institution or place that needed a library and then intimating that assistance would not be amiss. The variety of such communications is readily seen from the examples which follow: A request from Seneca Falls, New York, for a set of Carnegie's books remarking, "We have been for years trying to get a library and reading room here so the shopmen would have a place to sit of an evening and not have to go to the saloons . . .";⁴⁷ a plea for funds for a non-sectarian reading room for working boys in New York City which was already doing much toward "creating a taste for reading and in keeping the boys from vicious lives";⁴⁸ a letter asking for an appointment to discuss "a combination of a gift towards the establishment of our Diocesan Library with the building of my cathedral";⁴⁹ a reminder that Carnegie had promised a present of a Sunday-school library;⁵⁰ the Brooklyn Stenographers' Association could use a library and gymnasium;⁵¹ the Pittsburgh Electric club, an organization of technicians, needed a library;⁵² the East End Council (Pittsburgh) solicited a donation for a library to be used by its members and their families;⁵³ the Aguilar Free Library was doing a very noble work and was only five hundred dollars short of assuring a five thousand dollar subscription;⁵⁴ a letter from Strabane, Brodick, New Brunswick, which needed a place of resort for its young men among whom "drunkenness and immorality" were alarmingly on the increase.⁵⁵

The editor of the *Evening Star* of Dunedin, New Zealand wrote, by way of full justification of his bid for funds:

Unfortunately in this community the classes and the masses are not by reason of recent labor troubles, so mutually interdependent as they should be for the advantage of the Commonwealth, and a project that is so intimately associated with the education of the masses has not been viewed with the favor it would have been had we fallen on less troublesome times in New Zealand. Still I think if a large hearted man like yourself were to say that a contribution would be forthcoming if the general public and the place were to contribute a like sum, the movement would receive the fillip necessary to make a live project of it. Last November we appealed to the rate payers of Dunedin by a ballot to vote the necessary funds, but were defeated; and the present legislation requires a two thirds majority in favor before we can get the power to rate. Such aid would to a certainty galvanize our people into action which is sorely needed.⁵⁶

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Admirers and Critics

From the number of "keys" to American cities and "freedom" of Boroughs and Towns accorded Carnegie in England and Scotland, it would seem that he had befriended the entirety of that part of the world in which he was interested. Supplementing library-giving with the free distribution of *Triumphant Democracy*, he further enlarged the sphere of indebtedness to himself. He therefore did not want for friends to defend and explain his library philanthropies, and, by transfer, his economic and labor policies as well.⁵⁷

The one big group whose friendship Carnegie could not gather in was organized labor. With Homestead staring them in the face the workers of Pittsburgh and its surrounding area found it difficult to accept the iron boss's gifts. It was slyly suggested that Carnegie's deeds as a private business man had "been less scrupulous than they would have been if their (Carnegie's and the plant manager, Frick's) acts had been of as public a nature as, for example, the act of founding a public library."⁵⁸

Acts of direct opposition to the acceptance of Carnegie money were noted here and abroad.⁵⁹ In September 1892, labor organizations of Pittsburgh circulated petitions asking the city council to return Carnegie's million dollar gift. A mass meeting and parade were held under the auspices of the American Flint and Glass Worker's Union. The proposed location of the library was criticized as being beyond the reach of the workingmen of that city. It was charged that the people would be burdened by taxation without having had a chance to vote on the question. One union leader accused Carnegie of building libraries and then reducing wages to pay for them. He was reported saying, "I would sooner enter a building built with the dirty silver of Judas Iscariot got for betraying Jesus Christ than enter the Carnegie library." Moreover, this was not a meeting of protest for labor only. It was also attended by several manufacturers and businessmen whose opinions on taxation and feelings toward Carnegie permitted them to give vent to their sentiments about the "Star Spangled Scotchman."⁶⁰ Plans were made to press the city council for a rejection of the gift. Carnegie, much grieved by the affair, remarked, "Public favor is ever capricious. . . . It was pitiable if the wage earners for whom these (libraries) were chiefly intended should be permanently prejudiced against them by the shortcomings of the donor. . . ."⁶¹

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It must not be concluded on the basis of the Pittsburgh experience and one other instance where a gift was voted down because of union opposition⁶² that labor was universally pigheaded about the matter. On the whole, the logic which Samuel Gompers followed on the question of "blood money" was more typical of labor's philosophy. Gompers realized that no man could do full justice to labor and at the same time amass so large a fortune. But, he argued, Carnegie could have done worse things with his money. He therefore advised, "Yes, accept his library, organize the workers, secure better conditions and, particularly, reduction in hours of labor, and then the workers will have the chance and leisure in which to read books."⁶³ This attitude was satisfactory as far as it went; but workingmen could hardly be expected to remain silent when, at the 1897 founders' celebration of the Pittsburgh Library, the ordinary citizen found that most of the seats—and all the good seats—had been reserved for the people of importance about town. Cynicism and doubt about the democratic character of this institution rose again. Remarks ranged from those which merely expressed anger at seeing privileges granted to the wealthy at a tax-supported institution to those which attacked the source of Carnegie's wealth, viz., the long hours, low wages and seven day work week at Homestead.⁶⁴

Labor was not alone in linking long hours, low wages and questionable labor policies to the philanthropic uses of surplus wealth. There were others who were critical of the coke and steel king's technique of taking away much and giving back a little in the shape of charity. "Yes, but it is not gifts that self-respecting men want from their oppressors. . . . The man that is strong of limb and sound in mind . . . wants justice, an opportunity to succeed by his own exertions. . . ."⁶⁵ Nor did the system of selling at three times cost plus a fair profit, which was admissible in our much celebrated Triumphant Democracy, escape the notice of Carnegie's critics even if the onus lay as much on a gullible public as on the shrewd industrialist.⁶⁶

That Carnegie did not fool all of the people even some of the time is well established by the number and variety of criticisms he provoked. Socially conscious people of all shades of opinion participated in exposing the ironmaster's lust for publicity and were united in the opinion that he was trying to cover up Homestead with library buildings.

Eugene V. Debs, speaking for the extreme Left, cried "shame"

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upon the workers who had uncritically accepted gifts "from the hands of Andrew Carnegie, red with the blood of their slain comrades. Yes," said Debs,

We want libraries, and we will have them in glorious abundance when Capitalism is abolished and workingmen are no longer robbed by the philanthropic pirates of the Carnegie class. . . . Then the library will be, as it should be, a noble temple dedicated to culture and symbolizing the virtues of the people.⁶⁷

Upton Sinclair contributed to the *Comrade*, a Socialistic organ, a satiric poem which read as follows:

'Twas on a lofty throne of jewels piled,
She sat, the mistress of Manhattan Isle;
And Andrew Arniky, the champion slight,
A modest, mild, unwarlike hero he,
Poured words of tender pleading in her ear:—
Oh, come with me, fair lady, sovereign bride,
And we will wisdom's lofty pleasures taste;
A thousand libraries thine shall be,
A thousand books thy bridal bed shall form,
And thou shalt dine three times a day on Lamb,
With Bacon garnished, and shalt know the joys
Of pure beneficent philanthropy;
And daily in the papers thou shalt read
Of ten new libraries, in cities vast,
In villages, and Indian wigwams too,
In Texas ranches, and Esquimaux huts,
In Heaven, Hell, and stations in between.

Thus in polemic and satire did the Left picture Carnegie as a Godless, misanthropic, malevolent individual whose first love was public recognition and flattery. Besides being antilabor, he was also to be characterized, thought the radicals, as meddling, unpatriotic and unscrupulous in all his dealings, business and otherwise.⁶⁸

Liberals of one type or another spoke in terms of the materialism and power that went with riches, of the contrast between starving humanity, and the ill-directed extravagances of great wealth, of Pinkerton's men and of the industrial practices which aided in building the Carnegie fortune.⁶⁹ The humorists, Mr. Dooley and Mark Twain, confined their remarks pretty much to Carnegie's preoccu-

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pation with gaining popular acclaim although in one piece on "Carnegie Libraries" Mr. Dooley included a full line of anti-Carnegie grievances.⁷⁰

It is not necessary to compile the hundreds of examples of unfavorable publicity Carnegie got along with the public adulation he craved so much. On occasion his apologists made a catalog of complaints against the great "Libraro Maniac" in order to refute some charges or enter claims of mitigating circumstances. We are thus provided with summaries of the bad things people were generally thinking of him.⁷¹

One type of grievance, which appeared as intimation rather than as outright accusation, was concerned with the possible control of library policies by Carnegie. The charge that the Pittsburgh library had been ordered to stack its shelves and tables in favor of the gold standard is in this category.⁷² Whatever evidence there is on this question points away from this conclusion. Carnegie seems to have scrupulously avoided interfering in the policies of his libraries.⁷³

After the turn of the century, as Homestead receded farther and farther into the past, most of the grievances disappeared from the popular mind. The only sore point which still retains some of its old prominence is the burden of financial support which continues to lie heavily upon many small towns—the dubious beneficiaries of Carnegie library buildings.

Here and there one still gets the broader view of Carnegie and his philanthropies. The twentieth-century historian, James Truslow Adams, expresses almost disdain for the man "who had fought his workingmen's reasonable demands for better living conditions and had replaced native American labor by foreign immigrants for the sake of more complete control over their destinies, (who) had begun to distribute millions for his libraries buying cheap notoriety on terms so onerous that more than one city, including the one in which I happened to live, declined to accept the money in accordance with them."⁷⁴

Chapter 10. BOOKMEN, LIBRARIANS, AND FREE BOOKS

PUBLISHERS AND BOOKSELLERS

EXCEPT FOR THE PROFESSION OF LIBRARIANSHIP ITSELF, THE ONE group which had an immediate material interest in free public libraries was that composed of men who published and distributed books to the reading public. At mid-century, when "public" libraries had not yet achieved tax support to any extent and librarians had not attained the self-consciousness of a purposeful professional group, the interests of bookmen and librarians seemed to be pretty much the same. The most widely circulated publishers' organ of the time, *Norton's Literary Advertiser* and its successors, printed library news and statistics,¹ ran a series of articles on librarianship,² and was largely influential in initiating the idea of a librarians' conference which met in 1853.³

In all of these references to libraries and librarians there is little enthusiasm for the popular library as such. First in the editorial heart of the Norton magazines were the Astor and Athenaeum libraries; second, the young men's and mercantile library associations; third, the rising free town libraries. The critics of the decidedly non-popular Astor were told in most certain terms that the diffusion of knowledge started with the teachers, ministers, authors and editors, and through them filtered down to the masses.⁴ The Boston Public Library apparently was acceptable only after the Athenaeum and Mercantile libraries possessed the assurance that the new institution did not threaten their interests. At that, there was some uncertainty about the future of a library whose privileges were available without any fee whatsoever.⁵

As free libraries grew in number and size, publishers remained friendly to them and showed their friendship by frequent gifts from their book stocks. It was slightly different with the booksellers, who began to feel—at about the time of the organization of the American

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Library Association—that free libraries constituted a threat to their economic well-being. In combating this supposed competition dealers adopted the hardest and most direct weapon available to them—they cut library discounts. It was not long, however, before book-sellers were convinced that libraries were acting as a stimulant to book buying rather than the contrary.⁶ The librarians themselves were not a little responsible for this change of spirit.⁷ For in addition to the mere logic of their arguments, they now had the compelling logic of their organized strength to back them. Among their leaders were shrewd administrators of large libraries whose business acumen was an even match for book dealers. The solution to the discount problem was to let dealers compete for large library book orders: the old rates were soon reestablished.⁸

LIBRARIANS

Last, but not least, of the interest groups which gave strength to the growing library movement was the library profession itself. However much we may insist that the social ideas employed by librarians were mere reflections of prevailing cultural attitudes, we shall find it impossible to gainsay the marvelous promotional job these men and women did in their struggle to win a place in the sun for their institution as well as for their profession. What these librarians did immediately upon forming their national organization was to give shape and direction to the library movement itself. Efficiency and science, the bases of success in the practical world of the time, formed the keynote of the library profession. By demonstrating the economies to be achieved by large-scale public library enterprise, the librarians won many a politician and conservative businessman to the idea of tax support.

This process dates from the librarians' convention of 1876 rather than from the earlier one in 1853. When the convention met in 1853 the librarians (who were mostly from colleges and scholarly institutions) were a minority of the assembled body, numbering but thirty-one of the eighty-odd men who signed the register. The other callings represented were author (14), clergyman (6), professor (12), principal, teacher, superintendent of schools, clerk of a board of education, reporter, editor, bookseller, journalist, painter, naturalist, biblioplist, commission merchant, insurance agent, army officer, customs officer, judge, lawyer, publisher, and archeologist.⁹ With the little knowledge we have of those attending this meeting, we

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can only guess that for many a man present the sole reason for attending was his interest in books and their preservation.

Notwithstanding the preponderance of outsiders at this gathering, a sincere attempt was made to carry forward the interests of those engaged in the profession of librarianship. The purpose of the meeting was humbly stated as that of "conferring together upon the means of advancing the prosperity and usefulness of public libraries, and seeking mutual instruction and encouragement in the discharge of the quiet and unostentatious labors of our vocation for which each, at his separate post, finds perhaps but little sympathy, for which each, when at home, must derive enthusiasm only from within himself, and from the silent masters of his daily communion."¹⁰ The librarians, whether from lack of interest or excessive modesty, did not offer the resolutions bearing on the need for popular libraries and the necessity for propagandizing in their behalf. These resolutions were introduced by two members of the clergy, one of whom had delivered the key address of the convention on the subject of popular libraries.¹¹

When the organizational meeting of the American Library Association was convened in 1876 only six of the members of the first convention were present. There was, moreover, a decided difference in the composition and temper of the profession. For one thing, large numbers of women had entered the profession to fill the jobs opened by the establishment of numerous free town and city libraries. Not one woman had attended the conference of 1853; ten were present in 1876. Furthermore, practically all of the attendants in 1876 were librarians, as contrasted with the preponderance of bibliophiles in 1853. The register of the later meeting contained librarians first and foremost. True it is, that in the absence of a library training school, they had to be recruited from other professions. But these were not the failures handed down from school and church. Many had prepared for teaching or the ministry but had either not practiced these professions at all or had been in them but a short time before switching to librarianship. Recruits from the newspaper field, publishing and book trades were frequent, inasmuch as librarianship was then considered a cognate profession.

Members of the American Library Association had more to do than to complain to each other about how little they were appreciated in their respective institutions. Books were coming off the press in tremendous numbers; libraries were growing by leaps and bounds. Such were the prospects, with no cessation of book acquisition in sight,

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that the welcoming speaker at the convention warned the librarians to adopt some form of *science* in their work lest they be buried in the very mass of books they were handling.¹²

The dark years of depression and civil war which had delayed the development of the profession were now in the past. The United States Bureau of Education had prepared its large volume on "public libraries" and had called in the leaders of the profession to write most of the chapters. There was a definite feeling of "being wanted" which had been absent from the previous convention; and librarians, being wanted, began to magnify their importance. Many professional assumptions expressed in 1876 still apply with undiminished force.

The time has at last come when a librarian may, without assumption, speak of his occupation as a profession. . . . The best librarians are no longer men of merely negative virtues. They are positive, aggressive characters, standing in the front rank of the educators of their communities, side by side with the preachers and the teachers. The people are more and more getting their incentives and ideas from the printed page.

There are more readers and fewer listeners, and men who move and lead the world are using the press more and the platform less. It needs no argument to prove that reading matter can be distributed better and more cheaply through lending libraries than in any other way, and we shall assume, what few will presume to dispute, that the largest influence over the people is the printed page, and that this influence may be wielded most surely and strongly through our libraries.

. . . There was a time when libraries were opened only at intervals, and visitors came occasionally, as they come sometimes to a deserted castle or to a haunted house. Now many of our libraries are as accessible as our post-offices, and the number of new libraries founded has been so great that in an ordinary town we no longer ask, "Have you a library?" but "Where is your library?" as we might ask where is your school-house, or your post-office, or your church?

And so our leading educators have come to recognize the library as sharing with the school the education of the people. The most that the schools can hope to do for the masses more than the schools are doing for them in many sections, is to teach them to read intelligently, to get ideas readily from the printed page. . . . Could the schools really teach the masses to *read*, they would be doing a great work. The children of the lower classes have to commence work at a very early age, and it is impossible to keep them in the schools long enough to educate them to any degree. The school teaches them to read; the library must supply them with reading which shall serve to educate, and so it is that we are forced

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to divide popular education into two parts of almost equal importance and deserving equal attention: the free school and the free library.¹³

The above statement, which was more in the nature of a manifesto than it was a statement of fact, had to be implemented by a long, hard struggle to convince numberless local and state legislators of its validity. With the American Library Association giving support to previously isolated leaders, and the *Library Journal* providing from 1876 onward a medium for the exchange of ideas, the doctrines of democratic diffusion of knowledge achieved a wider circulation than ever before¹⁴ and provided the armament for softening legislative bodies (Cf. Chapter IV, p.72-76). Campaign materials were supplied to members of the profession¹⁵ and the progress of specific local campaigns was broadcast in the pages of the *Library Journal*.

Doubtless problems of salary, status and advancement were matters of concern among individual members of the newly "arrived" profession, but such matters got into public discussion very infrequently and then only in an indirect way.¹⁶ Librarians did, however, express themselves vigorously with regard to political interference in the staffing of libraries.¹⁷ They were especially vocal when such a prominent member of the profession as Justin Winsor was the victim of a political maneuver.¹⁸ The principles of civil service in libraries were applauded and their abuse condemned.¹⁹

Doubtless an intensive biographical study of library leaders in the nineteenth century would contribute much to a full understanding of the social ideas of the library movement proper. Although we have learned much from the professional writings of these men (see Chapters IV through IX) as to their use of social ideas in the enhancement of their cause, we know comparatively little of their daily reactions to social problems both inside and outside their libraries. Biographical researches which yield materials of this nature are comparatively scant; manuscript collections of librarians are, paradoxically, scarcer; and, because of the lack of either inclination or time, administrators of public libraries published little that would give us a coherent picture of their part in the social life of their time.²⁰

One thing is absolutely certain: The deans of the 1876 conference, C. A. Cutter, W. F. Poole and Justin Winsor, accepted the democratic premise of the free library movement without qualification, and unflinchingly led their disciples in the crusade for fuller and

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fuller library service. The library belonged to the people and had to be managed to suit their purposes and theirs only. A library had to be open at such times as the mass of the people could make use of it; a library had to furnish the books that people wanted to read, not what the trustees felt was good for them. No sensible businessman would stock unsalable goods: Why should libraries persist in acquiring books that people did not want to read?²¹ Charles Ammi Cutter may have passed off his inclusion in the *Library Journal* of *Life's* satire on the exclusiveness of the Lenox Library as an item of mere interest and amusement; but, in explaining some years later his unsuitability for a position at the Lenox, he said quite seriously, "I want to make books useful to the greatest possible number. If my trustees couldn't stand that at the Athenaeum how would the Lenox trustees like it?"²²

Among the later arrivals in the profession were several courageous men who dared even greater innovations in order to serve more effectively the mass of the people to whom free libraries belonged. For open bookstacks, deposit stations and branches, card indexes, improved arrangements of books, children's collections, other special collections, better arranged buildings, etc., much credit is due to men like William Howard Brett, John Cotton Dana, and Melvil Dewey.

Dewey, the outstanding organizing mind in the profession, had been possessed of a reformist urge from early youth. He preached efficiency and economy both from his own personal predilections and as a means of convincing practical-minded voters of the possibilities of development in public libraries. He therefore set out to standardize library methods and equipment in the manner of the best business practice of the period. Said he: "As much uniformity as is consistent among the differently constituted libraries is a necessity for the full measure of economy; the present extravagance is almost entirely in doing things by ones, instead of by thousands, and the possibility of labor-saving in cataloging and money-saving in supplies is conditional upon the degree of uniformity in methods and appliances." In the name of efficiency he advocated the opening of a school for prospective librarians (which he headed) and established the Library Bureau, a private enterprise which manufactured and distributed standardized library equipment.²³

Dewey's business acumen was doubtless of a very high order, although his ethics were called to question on occasion.²⁴ On the

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whole his activities in educational and library pursuits were directed toward progressive ends. As Secretary of the New York State Board of Regents from 1889 to 1899 he did much to raise the academic standards of New York schools and successfully agitated for expanded educational facilities for both young and old. Even his somewhat disproportionate emphasis on the adoption of simplified spelling, abbreviations, and the metric system of weights and measures, was rooted in a desire to discard some of the encumbrances of elementary education and to release more time for teaching understanding rather than words and numbers. His championing of women in the library profession is to be counted as a major contribution to librarianship,²⁵ and his part in the organization of a Children's Library Association to improve the quality of children's reading materials is worthy of mention.

In view of Dewey's interest in such movements as world peace and shorter hours for labor, one would be inclined to place him definitely on the progressive side of the political scene were it not for an accusation of racial bias of which he never adequately cleared himself. The charges upon which Dewey received a hearing before the New York State Board of Regents were to the effect that contemporaneously with his tenure of state office, he was managing the Lake Placid Club, which excluded from membership all Jews "even when of unusual personal qualifications." Dewey's claim that the bias was not a personal one but a regulation of the club failed to satisfy the regents inasmuch as the testimony revealed that he and his wife owned a majority of stock of the Lake Placid Company, which in turn owned and managed the Club's property. The final action of the Regents was to admonish the Director of the State Library that they would frown upon his "further control of a private business which continues to be conducted on such lines is incompatible with the legitimate requirements of his position in the service of the educational interests of the State of New York."²⁶

In the practice of the profession proper all evidence demonstrates the librarians' unqualified adherence under Dewey's leadership to the democratic ideal of expanding social service—in this case, library service—to the full extent of available facilities. Only the captious historian would insist that professional aggrandizement was the main motivation for the tremendous missionary zeal which librarians exhibited in their efforts to expand service for Americans of all ages, races, creeds and conditions of life. No one can doubt that in the

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performance of their appointed task librarians in public institutions adhered firmly to the principle of service as the people wanted it, not as their governors wanted them to have it. This principle they insisted upon even at the risk at times of antagonizing their employers, the library trustees.

It is no surprise, then, that in evaluating the forces of the library movement in the latter part of the nineteenth century,²⁷ reminiscing librarians overemphasize the role played by the profession itself. To many the library movement is to be identified most closely with the American Library Association, the state library commissions and associations, and the missionary spirit of librarians individually and collectively.²⁸ To some the dynamic character of Melvil Dewey is all important.²⁹ To those who knew the movement only in the last years of the century, the activities of women's organizations stand out as being the main prop of the movement. This is especially true of those who were working in the Middle West during these years.³⁰

Librarians who look beyond their own recollections for the underlying forces of the library movement offer varying explanatory theories. These run from a postulation of an unexplained, spiritually determined renaissance³¹ to an analysis based purely on the socialistic trend which resulted in bath houses, public school buildings, and adequate health inspection, along with public libraries.³² More generally the free library is associated with the development of a national culture and with the expansive mood of the country. These ideas are connected variously with cultural currents of the time. Some emphasize the educational movement as started by Horace Mann and retarded by the Civil War,³³ others, lyceums, Chautauqua and settlement houses;³⁴ one view places in the foreground the New England influence as spread by Emerson's lectures and the like; another, the new literature of Mark Twain and Bret Harte. If these authors stimulated reading, expansion and prosperity after the Civil War provided the economic base for producing and buying books in greater numbers.³⁵

Acknowledging the debt of thousands of public libraries to donations of buildings, money and books, many librarians place philanthropy in an outstanding position among the causes of library growth. Among the motives attributed to philanthropists are local pride and the desire to have the people as a whole share the scientific and cultural progress of the time.³⁶

The few librarian observers who penned their analyses while the

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movement was still in process were wont to stress the democratic, materialistic, and humanitarian components of free library growth. One, writing in 1889 said:

This "Boston Public Library," however, was designed primarily to bring within the reach of the clerk, the mechanic, the laborer, all the treasures of literature. The experiment was so immediately successful that it was quickly tried in other places, and now public libraries are to be found in every part of the country.

Not only this, but the library was to be the means of rescuing them from the dangers of the street, the saloon, the low amusements of the poor; to lift them above the sordid surroundings of their daily life.³⁷

More concrete in its terminology and broader in its interpretative scope was William I. Fletcher's pithy summary:

No one can doubt that out of the great manufacturing interests of New England grew a demand for books to promote intelligent and successful workmanship, nor that the political and humanitarian movement, which was so intense in New England at the middle of the century, also led to a craving for books and a desire to have all the people well read. Doubtless the peculiar combination of great industrial and commercial activity, social unrest and progressivisms, political idealism and intellectual hunger, which marks the New England character at home and "out west," furnishes the best possible conditions for the growth of the public library idea.³⁸

Chapter 11. SERVICE TO MEET READERS' NEEDS

THE CONCEPT OF SERVICE, WHICH TOOK HOLD EARLY IN THE HISTORY of free libraries, was one of accommodation to the needs of the mass of voters by whose mandate and for whose benefit the libraries were being run. The early trustees of the Boston and New Bedford libraries set the tone of social service which was copied and expanded by subsequent boards and librarians all over the country. The desires and convenience of readers were the sole criteria for selecting, arranging, and listing books. Libraries were built where they would be most accessible to the greatest number of readers. Hours of opening were determined in accordance with needs of the majority of the population.

BUILDINGS

Inasmuch as there seems to have been a fair amount of agreement on such matters as location, there is little documentation on the subject. Where a question arose, or where there were two or more suggestions as to the choice of a site, it was not unusual to find one faction setting forth the claims of those people who did not have access to private or athenaeum libraries. One should not, it was argued, "hinder the free use of books, and the acquirement of knowledge by the common people, the laboring man, the toiler."¹ In situations where libraries were not reaching as many people as it was thought they should, or where circulation was falling off, remedy was sought in relocating the library building or in making its physical facilities more suitable for the reading clientele.²

BRANCH LIBRARIES

As cities spread farther and farther from their original centers, it became clear that large portions of the population could reach the "main" library only with great inconvenience. This was especially

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true of the urban workingman and woman who could afford neither the time nor the carfare to reach centrally located book collections. Having completed an exhausting day's work in factory or office, people had little inclination to travel to a library.³

When the early branches of the Boston Public Library were being discussed by the library management, there arose a question which made the trustees hesitate. Would the opening of the branches make inroads into the clientele, and therefore the importance of the main library?⁴ It was soon conceded that both the permanence and the popularity of libraries would be saved by the opening of branches nearer the people's homes. Both the testimony of the librarian and the statistics prepared by him convinced the trustees that the prestige of the main library would not suffer. The reasons were: (1) accommodations for the readers of "popular" materials were insufficient at the main library; (2) the people in certain sections of the city were infrequent borrowers at the central location; (3) it should not be necessary for people of insufficient means to pay carfare even to get to a branch already established; (4) branches are a convenient method of catering to special population groups, such as industrial employees, non-English speaking groups, etc.⁵

Long before New York City had achieved a tax-supported free library, the semipublic New York Free Circulating Library began to open branches. The trustees and philanthropic friends of the library argued from the point of view of the humanitarian objectives of this institution, viz., to provide convenient reading facilities for the poor and to raise the level of morality in the community.⁶ The story of how a local library branch had driven a neighboring saloon out of business demonstrated one practical result of opening branches.⁷ Some citizens, innocent of the host of problems implicit in good library administration, considered it practical to establish a branch collection in each of the city's precinct houses. In this way, they claimed, the municipality could develop an economical method of preventing and punishing crime.⁸

As one would expect, the branch library was primarily a phenomenon of large industrial cities. Wherever large working populations were spread over far-flung areas of a city, it was deemed expedient (whether for reasons of democratic policy, humanitarian uplift, or practical utility) to establish branches near the homes of workers. This logic was seen to operate in the urban centers of the Middle West as frequently and as forcefully as in the cities of the East.⁹

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On occasion a branch was established in response to a petition by a labor organization,¹⁰ but, almost always, it was a result of investigation and analysis by the library management itself.

Given the idea of service to the whole people, it was but a step from branch libraries to "delivery" or "deposit" stations,¹¹ and thence to a highly developed system of traveling libraries. The "traveling" library, first seen in Scotland in 1817,¹² though best adapted to the needs of rural villages and farming communities,¹³ was put to great advantage for workers in mining and lumber camps.¹⁴ The moving book collection was also employed with great success to serve "branchless" inhabitants of factory and tenement districts in large cities. In short, any place where people gathered for some purpose was an opening for this sort of library work.¹⁵ The traveling library was the creation of the library people themselves and received little impetus from its prospective users. In fact, it was because it had no root in the popular will that the secretary of the Board of Library Commissioners in New Hampshire had no confidence in its future success. The system was altogether too paternal to insure its permanence.¹⁶

ADDED SERVICE FOR THE READERS

While many technics of library science developed according to administrative expediency, some of the more important improvements were made with the reading clientele as their frame of reference. Access to bookstacks, though at first conceived as a privilege of highest desirability for student and scholarly readers,¹⁷ was later argued on the basis of serving the workingman's needs. The "closed shelfers" maintained that an intelligent desk attendant would be more helpful to "lower-class men" than admission to the stacks.¹⁸ On the other side, it was claimed that the card catalog repelled the worker; that what he wanted was a chance to sit down among the books and choose for himself.¹⁹ Of course, the closed-shelf school thought that open access would be abused by the less educated common folk and would result not only in the disorder of the libraries' shelves but also in the loss of books by outright theft. It was left to library experience to obliterate this distrust of the people.²⁰

True it was that the card catalog presented a forbidding aspect to all but the students who already had a good idea of what they wanted and knew the authors' names of the books they were seeking. That the management of the Boston Public Library was ever aware of this

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problem there can be no doubt. Not only did its annual reports repeatedly speak of intentions to improve service in this direction, but there is concrete evidence of this library's efforts in the form of complete and well-arranged printed catalogs of its various divisions, subject lists for specific group needs, annotated book lists, and a bulletin published periodically giving a list of current acquisitions. In providing these aids to readers the library was doing an immeasurable educational service; it was giving the bibliographically unsophisticated reader an easy access to the mysteries of accumulated knowledge.²¹ Carrying the general idea a little further, one library posted daily lists of subjects having current interest along with recommended pertinent readings. This library also allowed borrowers to leave reserve post cards. Both of these measures were introduced in order to overcome aimless reading among beginners in the public library. The daily lists would suggest readings grouped around subjects of interest to the reader; the reserve system would prevent haphazard reading by people who became discouraged when they could not secure the books which they had intended to read.²²

In time other restrictions on the use of the library were removed or relaxed and new services were added. The minimum age of registrants was lowered and eventually children's rooms were opened. Registration and fine regulations were eased. Among the service innovations were the interlibrary loan,²³ the circulation of pictures,²⁴ and the provision of public readings for entertainment.²⁵

Much of the adapted and extended service of the late nineteenth-century public library was summarized in a symposium on library service to factory workers:

The library building should be on a main street. It should be well lighted and heated, and made as attractive as possible inside and out. It should be open every evening until at least 9 o'clock, Sundays included. Books should be selected with a view to satisfying the particular needs of mechanics. Their attention can be attracted to the libraries by placing book bulletins in their factories and by sending out small travelling libraries. The reading room should be as free as possible from restrictions.²⁶

HOURS OF OPENING

It required comparatively short experience in the operation of public libraries, to demonstrate to boards of trustees, examining committees, and librarians that the major part of the population, the

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working people, could not visit the libraries during a nine-to-five, Monday-through-Saturday opening. In view of the fact that library hours coincided with the working hours of industry, the library was thus not able to perform one of the prime functions of its design, viz., the elevation of the community's laboring classes.

The broadest expression of the movement to open libraries at such times when the wage-earners could use them appeared in the *New York Star* in the year 1890. The *Star* urged that all of the free libraries and reading rooms in New York, including the Astor and the Lenox, be thrown open seven days a week, all the year round; and also that the number of these libraries "be indefinitely increased, so that the working people might have ample opportunity to read. For the multitude like to read, when they can, and readers are seldom criminals and never fools."²⁷

Evening Hours

That library reports contain scant discussion on the subject of evening opening is clear proof that such an extension of hours was a matter of course to library administrators. There was universal acceptance of Justin Winsor's dictum: "The hours that a library is open must correspond to the hours when any considerable number of the people will come to it." Among the few instances where the issue became a subject of criticism and contention was that of the Astor in New York. The explanation that there was a great risk of fire because of the use of gas jets at night failed to satisfy critics who said that the trustees were practicing economy at the expense of the workingmen and women of the city.²⁸ The management of the Boston Public Library reported quite candidly that its reason for not opening Bates Hall (reference library) in the evening was the expense involved in lighting the library and paying for extra attendants.²⁹ It was felt that the public interest would be much better served if books were bought with this money. In the few cases where discussion arose on the subject of evening opening, the crucial arguments on the side of this added service were pretty much the same—availability to those who worked all day, and the prevention of drunkenness and crime.³⁰

Sunday Opening

If the logic of popular needs was followed in arguing the question of Sunday opening, there would have been as little discussion as there

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was in the matter of extending library hours into the evening. However, with the strength of organized religion pressing for a strict observance of the Sabbath, the historical course of Sunday opening did not run quite so smoothly. Though the struggle was fought on secular as well as religious grounds, the ideas presented by the anti-Sunday factions were generally rationalizations of deeply rooted religious tenets. In the final analysis, the bitter debates on the Sunday-opening question were merely one aspect of the larger struggle between democracy, science and liberal religion on the one hand, and conservative politics and religion on the other.³¹

In all of the detailed public statements, legislative hearings, editorials and articles, little was said against Sunday opening which went beyond restating the formula of Sabbatarian adherence. Solicitousness for library workers who would supposedly have to work seven days a week was a transparent cavil. Likewise was the fear that this act would hurt the laboring class—whom it was specifically intended to help—by setting the precedent for a longer work week. The appeal to a Massachusetts law which forbade all but work of charity on Sunday—and this was not an act of charity—was a resort to friendly tradition in legal garb. One argument which outdistanced the rest for ingenuity, was that the city should not knowingly provide a place of holiday rendezvous, “not always for innocent purposes,” for the young men and women of Boston. Personal advertisements had already appeared in the public press arranging “dates” at the public library, having purposes far different from the use of the library’s reading facilities. This was an outcome not intended by the moral uplift promoters of public libraries.

As to the profession itself, opposition was pretty much confined to Jewett and his colleagues at Boston, and even this opposition wilted in the face of public fire. Jewett did not want his own staff to work on the seventh day and refused to hire inexperienced librarians for Sunday service. If extra pay were offered, jealousy and feelings of discrimination on the part of Sunday observers would result. If Jewett had opposed Sunday opening only as a means of protecting the rights of his staff, no one could have blamed him. But so consistent and complete was the rationale of his opposition, and so flavored with the emotion of religious objection, that he was accused of basing his point of view on his own predilections. Once it was intimated that his position as a church warden had much to do with his opposition. Another time, someone at a Common Council

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hearing accused him of not wanting to travel into Boston on Sundays from his country home.

Practically no prominent librarian in the national association spoke disapprovingly of Sunday opening, except with regard to the very special problem which existed in the one-librarian library. Samuel S. Green, Justin Winsor, William F. Poole, W. H. Brett, Mary S. Cutler, George W. Cole, and others made unqualifiedly favorable reports on Sunday opening.³² W. E. A. Axon, one of the most vocal of British librarians at international professional conferences, spoke repeatedly in favor of Sunday opening.³³ Reuben Guild, representing the college field, was a lone voice when he spoke against Sunday work. His opposition was, more than anything else, a matter of academic strategy. He was interested in keeping the status of the college librarian on a par with that of his colleagues in the faculty.³⁴

Melvil Dewey explained that he had begun his study of the question with a strong prejudice against it but had been forced in the intervening years to change his mind. He too had a very special consideration in the back of his mind. Inasmuch as "This association has been singularly free from the stigma of being a trades union," he very much regretted the spirit which favored Sunday service with extra pay. Reconciling professional interest with missionary spirit, he prescribed an appeal to the public not to deprive librarians of their Sabbath, but to give added monetary support so that library managements could hire the necessary extra help.³⁵ Dewey's point of view, while here applied to a specific problem, actually summarized the working philosophy of the entire profession: The realization of self-interest through democratic altruism.

BOOK SELECTION

This habit of making the public library satisfy the democratic criteria of greater popular choice and participation was neither the invention nor the exclusive property of librarians who managed our tax-supported institutions. The operational test of success was the degree to which a library satisfied the needs of a taxpaying public. This was the principle upon which Ticknor insisted and which he wrote into the "constitution"³⁶ of the Boston Public Library with the somewhat reluctant support of Bates, Everett and the other city fathers. The announced policy of trustees and librarians in public libraries generally was to survey the "intellectual, moral and possibly imaginative wants" of the people in any given locality and

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then to proceed, within the limits of income and liberally interpreted propriety, to place these materials on the library shelves.³⁷

A library must meet every need of its clientele lest it languish among a hostile people. Tax funds must always purchase what "popular" demand dictates. Endowment funds would be devoted to purchasing standard reference works and classics, but the people's money must be tagged for current needs. If funds permit, the request of a single reader for a particular book should be satisfied. All faiths, and all shades of each faith, must be represented on the shelves of city libraries lest anyone in the city's population be offended. Every race and language of cosmopolitan cities should be catered to if a public library seeks to perform its full function. If portions of the clientele cannot read English, books must be supplied in their native languages. Even an Americanization program must be sacrificed temporarily in order to reach this part of the people. Moreover, a by-product of this work with the foreign born would be the lessening of their discontent and ignorance—both outstanding causes of disloyalty and rebellion.³⁸

Doubtless the reform, humanitarian, and educational purposes of the public library would have been served best if only "good" literature were read by the clientele. Libraries would, however, have defeated their purpose by offering exclusively that reading which trustees, directors and librarians considered beneficial. The book collection had to be attractive to the majority of potential readers in the population; all efforts to weight libraries with only the "highest" type of reading were resisted. Books, it was maintained, had to be "adapted to the wants of the masses who bear the burden of taxation."³⁹

Library managements hastened to explain that their policy was not merely one of pandering to undeveloped tastes. It was justified by the pedagogical principle of graded reading by whose mechanism the common folk would start with simple popular books and graduate to the more solid forms of reading. Besides, as more than one library official insisted, with a free choice of reading in which fiction was included, there would not be a disproportionate quantity of novel reading.⁴⁰ Many an occasion was made to dispel the popular illusion that industrial and office workers read only trash, or even that their reading habits were appreciably different from those of their brethren in the upper ranges of the social scale. By drawing on circulation statistics, reinforced by direct staff contacts with readers, officials under-

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lined the surprising quantity of mental activity among the poorer classes.⁴¹

It was pointed out at a meeting of the Massachusetts Library Club that, by making the acquaintance of labor leaders as well as other prominent citizens, librarians would not only learn the needs of local skilled workers but would also accomplish a good deal in the way of reducing novel reading.⁴²

Fiction

One source of perennial worry to library officials was the preference shown by the public for novel reading. It was not that the library people were against the reading of fiction as such, but that they suffered embarrassment before the controllers of local funds when attempting to represent the library as an "educational" institution. The big taxpayer, who frequently felt that he was the one who was giving a public library to the people, threatened regularly to withhold his gifts to an institution which was providing mere entertainment.

In counteracting pressures of this kind, the library interests did not have to use a logic manufactured without basis in fact. It was true that the mass of the people did not possess scholarship and literary culture. They were not even trained readers. In this case the only democratic and practical policy to pursue was to give them the reading they liked and understood; to supply them with reading matter from which they could derive some benefit. If the masses were mere (sic!) children as far as culture was concerned, it might even be desirable to stock juvenile books and simple geographies. Moreover, there was no intention here of disregarding the distinction between "good" and "bad" novels. There were novels that taught lasting lessons; there were novels that could be consecrated "to the service of sound morality and religious faith." By omitting all fiction from the reading diet, one was in effect discarding a most excellent medium through which an acquaintance with the conditions of modern life could be made. Then too, light reading encouraged the reading habit, and thus provided the basis for improving the tastes and expanding the intellects of the people. The process of graded reading worked well with fiction as a starting point. One could proceed from the *Tale of Two Cities* to the history of the French Revolution, and then to the principles of social economy which underlay such uprisings of the people.⁴³

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One learned from daily experience how to operate a library successfully: Pack your library with reference works in history, biography and geography and the people will not frequent it. Provide only the "solid" works and your institution is a failure! The librarian cannot afford to sit in an ivory tower. What the people need is relaxation, not instruction. Remove fiction books and you reduce the extent of the library's use by three quarters.⁴⁴

Librarians and trustees did not always assume this defensive position. When they were operating in their humanitarian role, their tone was self-righteous and bold. They asserted that, were readers never to get further than fiction—even cheap fiction—this type of reading was better than no reading, and at that was an improvement over the vicious associations and wretched surroundings of the indigent.⁴⁵ They could thus justify the use of public money in purchasing novels on grounds other than their intrinsic literary value. Whereas at times—to suit the argument—they claimed that body exercise at the daily job prepared the laborer for serious mental exertion in the evening, the justification for stocking libraries with fiction books demanded quite a different logic, viz., those who worked hard all day needed relaxation, recreation and escape.⁴⁶ On the authority of the psychologist, G. Stanley Hall, they could maintain that a good novel rests the nerves in a way more wholesome "than does a cup of strong tea";⁴⁷ to this the library people could add, "Certainly more wholesome than some of the other stimulating drinks and activities resorted to by urban industrial workers."⁴⁸

Censorship and Exclusion

In spite of widespread feeling against the prevailing emphasis on fiction in public libraries, there was only an occasional outburst on the part of guardians of the public welfare against a library administration.⁴⁹ Librarians could take dedication speakers with a grain of salt, when, with paternal admonition or threats of damnation, they spoke of the importance of selecting only "good" literature and rejecting lying romances.⁵⁰ The vogue of quoting Dr. Isaac Raye on insanity from overindulgence in novel reading⁵¹ dropped out of the picture almost before professional discussion on fiction in libraries began. Only one American librarian, William Kite, of the Friends' Free Library in Germantown, Pennsylvania, seriously advocated complete exclusion of fiction from public libraries. His objection to novel reading by the sons and daughters of the common

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folk was that it gave them false ideas of life and made them dissatisfied with their "lowly but honest occupations."⁵²

While much of the criticism of fiction reading was religious and moralistic, there was a class of sensational, prurient literature which no educator, however advanced in his ideas, would want to distribute to the youth in his charge. Most of the literature of the library movement with regard to this point is so general that it is frequently impossible to distinguish between those critics who attacked popular novels because of the "atheistic, antisocial, ultraradical, semi-papist," papist, or antipapist views they encouraged,⁵³ and those whose interest—if sometimes overzealous—was the emotional stability of young readers. Indeed, was it not one of the original and lasting purposes of the free library to combat the sensational weeklies and other pernicious literature?⁵⁴

Despite the scrupulous adherence of librarians to the canons of good taste; despite their care to publicize their unremitting rejection of licentious, unclean books; despite their painful explanations on differences in treatment of adult and youthful readers, and on the lengths to which librarians went to keep improper books out of the hands of young borrowers; despite all of these precautions⁵⁵ they could not escape public censure at all times and in all places. The librarians' obligation to collect all works of literary merit—including Sterne, Smollet, Fielding, and the novelists of French realism—got them into trouble more than anything else.

The most celebrated crusade against "immoral" novels in a library was that carried on by James M. Hubbard against the institution which employed him, the Boston Public Library. Hubbard's biggest grievance was against that part of the library's collection labeled "The Inferno"; it was this collection which included titles available only to adult borrowers. In the early stages of the controversy, the management seemed penitent and promised a more careful examination of incoming titles. Later, apparently fed up with Hubbard's meddling activity, the administration stood its ground and, with the aid of a sympathetic press, argued the crusader into submission.⁵⁶ The library's defense was positive, indignant and caustic:

The library, as has been stated, is maintained as a great popular metropolitan institution. It is not a goody-goody Sunday school library, such as many seem to wish to make it; it is not kept up expressly for the benefit

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of the Puritan New Englander—a type of individual which is now much scarcer in these parts than further west—although it is intended to meet his requirements, but it is also intended to meet the requirements of the Roman Catholic Irishman, the atheistic German, the radical Frenchman, all of whom are citizens of Boston, paying their proportion of the taxes which support the institution, and therefore equally entitled to be considered in the selection of books and periodicals. . . . The standards of each country are accepted in the choice of its works. Thus the works of Zola and Paul de Kock are not circulated, as there is serious question of their morality in France.⁵⁷

With public opinion firmly behind them, American librarians never had to defend their selection of books against public petitions, clerical interference, and senatorial charges as did the librarians of St. Etienne, a suburb of Paris, in 1867.⁵⁸ A certain measure of circumspection, tempered by a goodly amount of willing conformity, and buttressed by the prestige of libraries in large cities, usually provided the library administration with sufficient fortification against moralistic raids.

Of the three elements which lent strength to the independence of libraries in matters of book selection, "conformity" was probably the most potent. At least this is what a check of eleven public library catalogs for their inclusion of the French novelists in English translation would reveal.⁵⁹ The novelists who were completely proscribed by guardians of the public morality, both civic and literary,⁶⁰ were found only in rare instances. Where a few titles from the pens of some of the authors had been declared acceptable, these titles and perhaps a few others were placed on the shelves. The New York Free Circulating Library, the Jersey City Free Library, and the Newburyport, Massachusetts Public Library shelved more of these questionable books than did the others. Thus Bourget, Dumas, Mme. Collet, Feydeau, Flaubert, Goncourt, Maupassant, both Mussets, and Zola were almost completely absent from library shelves; Balzac and Daudet were represented by a few of their more popular and proper stories; and Sand, by a larger number of books—including a few which had been declared ineligible for respectable people.

When one attempts to study the exclusion of controversial books in the social sciences, he does not find lines as clearly drawn as they were for the literature of French realism. From the limited research done on this subject it would be impossible to draw any but a few extremely tentative conclusions; for many factors are involved

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which do not stand out clearly in a tabulation of books listed in public library catalogs. Such questions as these must be asked: Were the titles checked popularly received and widely read at the time they were published? What was the consensus of contemporary critical estimates? Was a particular work considered too advanced for ordinary readers? We must, for instance, consider the date of publication of the library catalog. The later the catalog, the more likely it was to list books about which there was some contest; then too, the longer a book circulated after its first publication, the better the basis of judgment for librarians who tested their selections by the measure of popular acceptance.

The more one examines the tabulated results of a library catalog, the more one sees the many pitfalls which must be avoided by the student who wishes to reach really valid conclusions on the subject of library censorship. What is one to say when he finds that very little of the social literature output ever reached most of the public libraries at all? What is one to conclude when the nonagitational labor treatises of Richard T. Ely and antilabor writings of Francis Lieber do turn up in library catalogs, but when the 'equally conservative—and sometimes most conservative—social science books by John Bates Clark, Washington Gladden and Josephus N. Larned, do not?⁶¹ On the other hand, should not one be on his guard when he finds the difficult and unpopular Karl Marx in more libraries than the more digestible Bellamy, Boyessen, Donnely, Gunton, Lloyd, McKaye, Moody, and Wright?⁶² The exclusion of these books could certainly not be any more of an accident than the inclusion on a wide scale of the evolutionary treatises of Darwin, Fiske, Gray and Huxley. By the last quarter of the nineteenth century the citizens of northeastern United States had accepted evolution but as yet would have little to do with socialistic theories.

To make the problem even more difficult, the library profession has left us very meager documentary evidence to assist us in our research. This absence of materials may lead to one of many conclusions: There may not have been enough censorship to mention; it may have been so powerful as to demand complete acquiescence; or, more plausible than either of these, the process of conformity on the part of librarians may have been so subtle, so natural, that it did not occur to anyone to remark on the subject. Librarians after all were public servants and, from what we can know of them, they rarely injected into their work preferences other than those expressly

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made known by communities and their influential leaders. The provocation of censorship may not even have been sufficiently in evidence to raise the question.

That the problem was not completely foreign to librarians is clear from a brief statement made by a library leader during a conference discussion on "improper books." He said that although his remarks were outside the original scope of discussion, viz., improper fiction, it was worth mentioning that there were two sides to the question of selecting books in economics and politics. The point he wanted to make was: "There is in those fields such a diversity, such a contrariety of opinions that we may well be very careful about excluding books because they differ from the opinions which are accepted now. We must remember that the cranky idea of today may possibly be the accepted belief tomorrow; so that there are none of those books that we, perhaps, should absolutely exclude."⁶³

We are somewhat better informed on the positive side of book selection, "inclusion," than we are on the negative, "exclusion." Proceeding on the assumption that librarians attempted to cater to public tastes, we can say that history, biography, travel and popular science were in abundance in public libraries.⁶⁴ A glance at a few catalogs of library collections and lists of current accessions confirms this view. Bancroft, Prescott, Motley, Irving, Hitchcock, Agassiz, Miller and Lyell were almost always a part of library collections. This emphasis was, moreover, eminently satisfactory to the guardians of public taste who felt that political stability was enhanced by a backward look into history and that economic progress was advanced by the reading of science and mechanics. Furthermore, libraries were urged to collect local, regional, and national history for two reasons, viz., the stimulation of patriotism and the preservation of materials for future historians.⁶⁵

Technical Books

In the selection of biography, history and travel, librarians were following traditional lines of emphasis and therefore had few occasions to announce their policy with reference to these categories. The purchase of books in technical sciences received a good deal of attention in the literature both because of its novelty to the librarians and its adaptability as favorable propaganda among local businessmen. Actually, all the librarians were doing was to mold part of their collection around a special and important activity of the

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community, the local industries. They were also buying books for the greatest number who needed them most. They bought not for the professional, not for the capitalist, but for the mechanic.⁶⁶

The idea of stressing the purchase of technical books may have been common to many libraries, but the rationale was not always the same. Some did it with a view to entrenching the library in the community by gaining the confidence of workingmen.⁶⁷ A few spoke of the necessity of keeping industry itself informed along technical lines.⁶⁸ Very many were primarily concerned with furnishing reading matter which would ennoble the workers' conception of his job, enhance his skill, and possibly improve his earning power. Raising the socio-economic status of the worker was a paramount consideration.⁶⁹

Frequently library committees advised the selection of certain technical books and periodicals, or even made specifications about future trends in book buying. These recommendations often mentioned the class of readers in whose interest the selection policy was being made, sometimes defining groups by their special vocational interest.⁷⁰ The next step following the established connection between technical reading and technical skill was to remark the relationship between technical skill and financial prosperity.⁷¹ It was this last link that the shrewd publicist and promoter of the St. Louis Public Library, Frederick Crunden, emphasized in his appeal to the commercial and industrial interests of his city. Said he, the economic prosperity of the community depended in a large degree upon the technical education of the working people.⁷² A further elaboration of the materialistic motif argued that the value of real estate increased where wage-earners were assisted in bettering their earning power.⁷³

While an occasional promoter might have stretched the point for reasons of his own, one cannot doubt the library people's sincerity and genuineness of motive in the matter of adding technical books to the collection. The need was present and was functional to the basic activities in which the population was engaged—those of making things, of performing services and, individually, of earning a living.⁷⁴

Newspapers

Our study leaves us with very little doubt as to the liberal construction library people placed on their role of social service. They tried

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within the limits of their resources and prestige in cities and towns to carry the book to the entire breadth and depth of the people from whom they got their mandate. In one matter, however, some librarians felt that they were reaching below the legitimate reading population and were therefore spending tax moneys in an unwarranted manner.

We refer here to the discussion which took place at the 1894 Conference of the American Library Association on the subject of including daily newspapers in the library collection.⁷⁵ Opponents of the practice claimed that this service attracted to the library people whose sole literary fare was the daily newspaper and that it was poor administration to provide reading-room space for such a clientele. Further it had been observed that the "malodorous" or "great unwashed" class was coming to the library for warmth and comfort as well as for the daily paper.

Those who upheld the place of newspapers in public libraries invoked the broad democratic principles upon which the library movement was founded. They also emphasized the humanitarian and educational ideals of the service librarians had been called upon to render. If the library could draw these people out of the saloon and get them interested in reading anything whatsoever, it was a hopeful sign. They might even get to reading other literary forms. They might, in fact, "still rise to the heights of cleanliness." A re-statement of the recurring theme of the classless, all-embracing public library was as appropriate here as it had been in so many other matters. This institution was "for the general public, and it could hardly afford to be a respecter of persons." The proponents of daily newspaper service prevailed.

Chapter 12. CONCLUSIONS

IN SEEKING THE ELEMENTS OF SOCIAL CAUSATION PERTINENT TO THE American public library movement, the writer has found his material both in the concrete conditions of life out of which society's agencies must grow and in the prevailing ideas and values which furnish that vitality without which such agencies cannot flourish. The variety of conditions and values which have been found to enter the growth process of the free library has surely reaffirmed the principle of multiple motivation now widely accepted as a basis for scrutinizing the behavior of individuals as well as that of social groups.

Certain sociological backgrounds were found to be almost self-evident prerequisites to the establishment of the tax-supported free library. These were the ability of communities to provide financial support to libraries, the necessity for a population sufficiently dense (rural libraries came upon the scene only after urban ones had been successful) to make service economical, a climate sympathetic to public support of education in general, and a favorable cultural *milieu*.

There were some ideas, aims, and predispositions which fostered and colored the library movement the documentation of which would have been tantamount to a restatement of simple truths. For instance, numberless people must have had their own cultural needs in mind when they placed their personal influence behind a local movement or merely performed the act of voting "yes" on the question of a tax levy. The element of "civic pride" which has been touched upon briefly in the treatment of intermunicipal rivalry was probably a strong drive for many a native son. People eager to collect historical materials of local interest doubtless saw the answer to their need in the town library. The influence of men prominent in public life accounted for much of the speed with which libraries

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were brought into being. All of these factors were present but they are difficult to weigh properly.

Other values and circumstances were described perhaps in greater detail than their organic meaning in the movement warranted. It is highly doubtful whether public libraries appreciably mitigated the evils of drinking and immorality, or combated with more than minute success the tendency toward criminal behavior in the cities. In fact the curves for criminal offense and free library establishment show pretty much the same direction inasmuch as both were functional to urbanization and the shifts of economic fortune. But as an idea which was used frequently and with telling effect in library campaigns, humanitarianism of this kind well merits the attention given it. It is of no great consequence whether all library promoters who used this idea were motivated by these humane and reformist aims. What is important is the convincing quality of this rationale when it was used to enlist the aid of community leaders. The conscious use of these values by librarians at the end of the century testifies to their efficacy in the experience of previous library friends and missionaries.

The area of public education presents quite the opposite problem in historical evaluation. Here the source materials were not adequate to carry the conviction of a truly fundamental link between the public school and the public library. Nonpublic educational agencies could never have produced a potential reading clientele large enough to justify the operation of free libraries. Nor could any community leader, however influential, have secured public funds for libraries had not the more basic public school already won tax support. The comparative absence of school men in the library movement seems most directly attributable to the presence of such weighty problems in the realm of public education as not to leave to educators the energies necessary for participation in public library matters.

Agencies of adult education did their proper share of work in stimulating interest in new topics, interest requiring satisfaction which was best supplied by the printed page. The publishing industry, with decreased costs of raw materials and improved technics of printing, rose to fill this need. However, the volume of reading material required by a citizenry eager to be informed in a tremendous variety of subjects was never equaled by a prevailing income large enough to purchase everyone's needs. Lectures, discussion groups,

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and classroom meetings, under all manner of auspices public and private, the newspaper and the magazine, the public elementary schools and the higher levels of free education then being established, all created and kept alive intellectual needs which had to be nourished. We should not of course forget the numerous quasi-public library forms whose services depended upon the individual's ability to purchase. Among these were the commercial circulating libraries, the ancestors of our corner lending libraries, which for many a decade had been supplying popular reading at a price.

These were the agencies responsible for creating and encouraging the reading habit. Moreover, the very nature of nineteenth-century America, characterized as it was by a swing of the political pendulum toward greater participation by the whole people in decision making, by an expansion of the limits of knowledge which offered unprecedented challenge to a formerly supreme supernaturalism, added tremendous impetus to the demand for materials of learning. Scientific knowledge and reason were supplanting faith. The attainment of such knowledge meant increasing the individual's ability to control more adequately his own destiny.

The application of science to the technics of production, involving a reorganization of the economy itself, gave practical meaning to the new knowledge. The apprenticeship method of training was no longer possible in the new organization of large-scale industry. Books were being resorted to as an effective means of technical education. The general acceptance of the idea that this kind of study would make it possible for the wage-earner to compete for economic success fitted quite well into the dominant philosophy of individualism. Social Darwinism was, to be sure, pointing out this and other implications of the evolutionary concept of "survival of the fittest."

With a naturalistic conception of life gaining ascendancy, and with knowledge being rapidly added to the supply of weapons for progress, no wonder then that men came generally to believe in the indefinite perfectibility of individuals as well as of society itself. How surely could the process be hastened by disseminating this knowledge as widely as possible among the whole people.

This state of things was altogether satisfactory to the patrician leaders in New England and to all men of the conservative disposition who feared social upheaval from below. Library philanthropists were strongly influenced by some of the intellectual aspects of the conservative defense. For Andrew Carnegie, it was an easy step from

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Darwin to the maintenance of the *status quo*. Of course the motivations to philanthropy were numerous and complex. Included among them were the religious doctrine of stewardship, a true belief in the democratic way of life, and a deep-felt gratitude toward communities in which private fortunes had grown.

On the whole, the needs of the urban wage-earner and his children seem to have been the focus of ideas expressed in behalf of free public libraries. The humanitarian emphasized uplift for the underprivileged. The educator wished to extend downward the benefits of learning beyond the limits already achieved. The democrat desired an informed populace for wider political participation. The common man was interested in his own advancement. The conservative saw in such educational facilities more favorable auspices for a stable society. As Arthur Ekirch has pointed out recently in summarizing his treatment of the idea of progress and its role in the movement for universal education,

To reformers it offered the hope that an educated people would adopt their schemes. To the underprivileged it meant a chance to rise, and to the more favored classes it seemed to preclude the possibility of violent revolution.¹

Librarians, for all their self-interest and tendency to overrate their own role in the movement, really believed in the mission of their institution. Their contribution, especially in the last quarter of the nineteenth century was considerable even if it did not match the measure of their self-esteem. In achieving their ends, they drew heavily upon democratic and humanitarian values. Popular need was consulted regularly in the development of library practices. Both the institution and its methods were conceived—and this was commonly true of supporters outside of the profession—as a contribution toward the self-realization of the broad masses of the people.

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NOTES

CHAPTER 1. THE ANGLO-AMERICAN LIBRARY SCENE

¹ The materials bearing on the parallel historical process of the American and British library movements are a summary of an article to appear in *Library Quarterly*, XVI (1946), 281-301.

² U. S. Bureau of Education, *Public Libraries in the United States of America: Their History, Condition and Management: Special Report*, pt.I (Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, 1876), p.45n.

³ Benjamin and William R. Cutter, *History of the Town of Arlington, Massachusetts, Formerly . . . Afterward the Town of West Cambridge. 1635-1879* (Boston, David Clapp, 1880), p.141-2 and n.

⁴ (Jared M. Heard) *Origin of the Free Public Library System of Massachusetts* (Clinton, Mass., printed at the office of the *Saturday Courant*, 1860), p.5. Wayland, Mass., *Proceedings . . . at the Town Hall . . . Dec. 24, 1878, With Brief Historical Sketches of Public Buildings and Libraries* (Wayland, The Town, 1879), p.77-8.

⁵ New Hampshire Library Association, *The Centenary of the Establishment of Public Libraries . . . in the Unitarian Church and Parish House, Peterboro, N.H., Aug. 22-24, 1933*, p.12, 16-19, 22; Peterborough, N.H., *Town Library of Peterborough, New Hampshire, Established April 9, 1883* (Peterborough, 1893), p.6-11; Albert Smith, *History of the Town of Peterborough, Hillsborough County, New Hampshire . . .* (Boston, George H. Ellis, 1876), p.114-18.

⁶ Horace G. Wadlin, *The Public Library of the City of Boston: A History* (Boston, The Trustees of the Library, 1911), p.1-6; Elizabeth M. Richards, "Alexandre Vattemare and His System of International Exchanges," *Medical Library Association Bulletin*, XXXII (1944), 413-38; Zoltan Haraszti, "Alexandre Vattemare," *More Books* (Boston, Mass. Public Library), II (1927), 257-66; Gertrude Barnes Fiertz, "Charlie McCarthy's Grandfather, the Wild Oats of a Boston Benefactor," *New England Quarterly*, XI (1938), 698-708.

⁷ Boston, City Doc. no. 1 (1848) *Mayor's Address*, p.5; Wadlin, *op. cit.*, *passim*; also, City Doc. no.10 (1852) *Message of the Mayor on the Subject of a Public Library*. The part played by the Boston press in keeping the library in the consciousness of the population is clear from the frequent coverage of library news. See, for example, *Boston Daily Evening Transcript*, Jan. 9, 1850, p.2 col.5; Mar. 30, 1849, p.2 col.2; April 17, 1849, p.2 col.2; Jan. 15, 1850, p.2 col.2; Jan. 30, 1850, p.2 col.2; especially article on the Public Library in series by "Canty Carl," on "Social Improvements," *Boston Daily Evening Transcript*, Jan. 30, 1850; Boston, Mass. Public Library, *Report of the Trustees of the Public Library of the City of Boston, July 1852* (Boston, J. H. Eastburn, 1852).

⁸ Concord, N.H., *Proceedings of the Town Meeting, 1850*, p.15 (art. 10, Mar. 13, 1850); *ibid.*, 1852, p.16-17, 29-31; also in Concord, N.H., *Exercises at the Dedication of the*

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CHAPTER 2. CULTURAL FOUNDATIONS

1 1843-9. See "Francis Wayland: Educational Labors and Publications," *American Journal of Education*. (Barnard), XIII (1863), 771-800 (especially p.786-90); For a recent treatment of Wayland's ideas and activities, see William G. Roelker, "Francis Wayland, a Neglected Pioneer of Higher Education," *American Antiquarian Society Proceedings*, LIII (1943), 26-38.

2 Francis Wayland, *The Education Demanded by the People of the United States. A Discourse Delivered at Union College, Schenectady, July 25, 1854, on the Occasion of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Presidency of Eliphalet Nott.* . . (Boston, Phillips, Sampson, 1855), p.18-26.

3 Francis Wayland, *Discourse at the Opening of the Providence Athenaeum.* . . (Providence, Knowles, Vose, 1838), p.12-37.

4 John Allen Krout, *The Origins of Prohibition* (N.Y., Knopf, 1925), p.147.

5 Everett 1852-64, as president; Ticknor 1852-66, president in 1865.

6 Paul Revere Frothingham, *Edward Everett, Orator and Statesman* (Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1925), p.363-5.

7 "A Public Library," *Massachusetts Teacher*, IV (1851), 255-6. Contains an extract of a letter dated June 7, 1851 which is used here as a comprehensive treatment of Everett's promotional ideas; letter reprinted in full in *Boston Daily Evening Transcript*, July 1, 1851, p.4 col.1.

8 Boston Public Library, *Ceremonies on the Dedication of the Public Library Building, Boylston Street, Jan. 1, 1853* (Boston, Rand & Avery, 1853), p.90-1.

9 Orrie William Long, *Thomas Jefferson and George Ticknor; a Chapter in American Scholarship* (Williamstown, Mass., McClelland Press, 1933).

10 *Ibid.*, p.22-3; also, William Henry Milburn, "George Ticknor and a Glimpse of Boston Society in 1854," *Quarterly Review of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South* (April 1893), 126-7.

11 Long, *op. cit.*, p.24-5.

12 *Ibid.*, p.13-15, 33. These words were written to Ticknor in 1824 to console him on the Harvard schism of 1823.

13 *Life, Letters and Journals of George Ticknor*, Vol. II (Boston, Osgood, 1876), p.230, 240-1.

14 *Life, Letters* . . . *op. cit.*, p.232-3, 236 (to George T. Curtis, April 22, 1848; Prince John of Saxony to Ticknor, May 14, 1848; Ticknor to Prince John of Saxony, July 30, 1848).

15 *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p.300-06.

16 For Everett's letter see *Boston Daily Evening Transcript*, Aug. 13, 1850; *Life, Letters op. cit.*, p.284, 300-4; cf. also Boston Public Library, *Preliminary Report*, 1852, p.9-21. Also in: Boston Public Library, Building Commission, *Proceedings on the Occasion of Laying the Cornerstone of the Public Library of the City of Boston. 17 September, 1855* (Boston, Moore and Crosby, 1855), p.46-9.

17 (George Ticknor) *Union of the Boston Athenaeum and the Public Library* (Boston, Dutton and Wentworth, 1853).

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- ¹⁸ MS in Quincy Documents, Boston Public Library.
- ¹⁹ Frothingham, *op. cit.*, p.363-5.
- ²⁰ *Life, Letters . . . op. cit.*, p.316-19.
- ²¹ Boston, Mass., *Report of the Joint Special Committee, Dec. 6, 1847*, Quincy Docs. no.24 (collection in Boston Public Library); also in Wadlin, *op. cit.*, p.8-9.
- ²² (Jared M. Heard) *op. cit.*; also in *Common School Journal*, XIII (1851), 257-64, 302-4.
- ²³ Concord, N.H., *Proceedings of the Annual Town Meeting . . . March 9-15, 1852* (Concord, Butterfield and Hill, 1852).
- ²⁴ Boston, Mass. Public Library, *Report of the Trustees of the Public Library of the City of Boston, July 1852*, City Doc. no.37 (Boston, J. H. Eastburn, 1852).
- ²⁵ *Proceedings of the Librarian's Convention Held in New York City Sept. 15, 16, and 17, 1853* (reprinted for William H. Murray, 1915, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, The Torch Press, 1915).
- ²⁶ Boston Public Library, Building Commission, *Proceedings on the Occasion of Laying the Cornerstone of the Public Library of the City of Boston, 17 Sept. 1855* (Boston, Moore and Crosby, 1855).
- ²⁷ Boston, Mass. City Council, *A Memorial of Joshua Bates From the City of Boston* (Boston, The Council, 1865).
- ²⁸ Vattemare to Quincy, Sept. 26, 1854 (Quincy Docs. no.40).
- ²⁹ New Bedford, Mass. Free Public Library, *Second Annual Report, 1854*, p.78.
- ³⁰ *Speech of Mayor Rice at the Dedication of the Boston Public Library Building, op. cit.*, p.86; also the address of Robert C. Winthrop upon the same occasion, *ibid.*, p.60.
- ³¹ New Bedford, Mass. Free Public Library, *Third Annual Report, 1855*, p.80-1.
- ³² Boston, Mayor, *Address . . . 1848* (Boston, City Doc. no.1, 1848); *Address Delivered by Benjamin Seaver, Mayor of City, to the Board of Aldermen, on the Occasion of Retiring From Office, Dec. 31, 1853* (Boston, Eastburn, 1853).
- ³³ Frank W. Ballard, *The Stewardship of Wealth, as Illustrated in the Lives of Amos and Abbott Lawrence. A Lecture Delivered Before the New York Young Men's Christian Association, Jan. 4, 1865* (N.Y., Clayton & Medale, 1865); Lawrence, Mass. Public Library, *Report of the Trustees, 1872*, p.6-7 (letter from the founder of the Franklin Library Association to its president, 1847); Hamilton Andrews Hill, *Memoir of Abbott Lawrence* (Boston, Little, Brown, 1884), p.117-22 (Abbott Lawrence to Samuel A. Eliot, June 7, 1847).
- ³⁴ Boston, Mass. City Council, *A Memorial of Joshua Bates . . . op. cit.*, *passim*.
- ³⁵ *Boston Daily Evening Transcript*, Aug. 3, 1852.
- ³⁶ E.g., *Boston Daily Evening Transcript*, May 15, 1849, p.2 col.1; May 19, p.2 col.3; July 25, p.2 col.1; Aug. 22, p.1 col.1; Feb. 26, 1850, p.2 col.1; July 12, (editorial); June 23, 1851, p.2 col.2; July 1, p.4 col.1; *Boston Daily Advertiser*, Jan. 2, 1852, p.2 col.7; May 25, 1852, p.2 col.5.
- ³⁷ *Boston Daily Evening Transcript*, Sept. 7, 1850, p.2 col.2.
- ³⁸ *Ibid.*, July 7, 11, and 18, 1851.
- ³⁹ *Ibid.*, Sept. 21, 1850, p.1 col.3; also Jan. 30, 1850.
- ⁴⁰ E.g., "The Public Libraries of America" (abstract of evidence offered by Henry Stevens, Esq., of Vermont before the Committee of the House of Commons on Public Libraries), *Literary World*, VI (1850), 195-7; (George Livermore) "Public Libraries" (review article), *North American Review*, LXXI (1850), 185-220.

CHAPTER 3. FROM THE "SOCIAL" LIBRARY TO THE FREE PUBLIC LIBRARY

¹ William F. Poole, "Some Popular Objections to Public Libraries," *Library Journal*, I (1876), 45-51; W. F. Poole, "State Legislation in the Matter of Libraries," *Library Journal*, II (1877), 7-12.

² Vermont was the only other New England state which had not adopted a district-school library law before 1850. Such laws were passed as follows: New York, 1835; Massachusetts, 1837; Connecticut, 1839; Rhode Island and Iowa, 1840; Indiana, 1841; Maine, 1844; Ohio, 1847; Wisconsin, 1848.

³ New Hampshire, *Journal of the House*, 1849, p.228-9, 283, 363, 371; *ibid.*, *Journal of the Senate*, p.161, 172.

⁴ Maine, April 20, 1854, Chap.106; Vermont, Nov. 9, 1865, Chap.98; Vermont, Nov. 2, 1867, Chap.63; Rhode Island, Board of Education, *Sixth Annual Report*, 1875, p.19-23.

⁵ Fifty dollars where the assessed valuation is one million dollars or more, twenty-five dollars where the valuation is less than a million but more than two hundred and fifty thousand dollars, and fifteen dollars where the valuation is less than two hundred and fifty thousand dollars (*Public Statutes of New Hampshire*, 1891, Chap.8, sec. 21-6; *Acts of 1890*, Massachusetts, Chap.347).

⁶ *Session Laws of New Hampshire*, 1895, Chap.118; "New Hampshire Library Law," *Library Journal*, XX (1895), 242-3.

⁷ Josiah H. Whittier (Secretary, Board of Library Commissioners, New Hampshire) to J. L. Harrison, Providence, R.I., Jan. 19, 1896 (MS in N.Y. State Library, Harrison Collection of Library Laws); *Library Journal*, XX (1895), 233.

⁸ Massachusetts, Free Public Library Commission, *Seventh Report*, 1897 (for 1896), p.15-20, 35-40.

⁹ New Jersey, Public Library Commission, *Handbook of the Public Library Commission of New Jersey: Libraries and Library Laws of the State* (Trenton, MacCrellish and Quigley, 1901), p.7-8, 53-90.

¹⁰ Nathaniel Niles to J. L. Harrison, June 27, 1898 (MS in N.Y. State Library, Harrison Collection of Library Laws).

¹¹ *Library Journal*, XVII (1892), 44-5.

¹² Pennsylvania, Free Library Commission, *First Report . . . 1899-1902* (Harrisburg, W. S. Ray, 1902), p.8-9; "Free Library Law," *Pittsburgh Daily News*, Jan. 6, 1897 (Clipping-book in Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh).

¹³ E.g., Ezra Cornell in Ithaca, Chap.126, Laws of 1864; the Wadsworth family in Genesee, Chap.262, Laws of 1869.

¹⁴ *Laws of New York*, 1867, Vol.2, p.1817.

¹⁵ E.g., An act for the relief of the "Hornell Library Association," *Laws of New York*, 1869, Chap.549; an act for the relief of the "Bath Library Association," *Laws of New York*, 1871, Vol.1, p.643-5.

¹⁶ Chapter 266, Session Laws, April 15, 1854.

¹⁷ Oswego, N.Y. City Library, *Annual Reports*, 1856-1859, 1861, 1863-4, 1866, 1868. (N.Y. Assembly Documents 1857, 2, 85; 1858, 2, 27; 1859, 2, 56; 1860, 2, 39; 1862, 4, 80; 1864, 2, 49; 1865, 3, 74; 1869, 2, 27.)

¹⁸ *Laws of New York*, 1872, Chap.458; the annual permissible appropriation was increased to seventy cents in 1892 (*Laws of New York*, 1892, Chap.685, sec.24).

¹⁹ *The Future Development of the New York State Library; a Report Made to the*

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Trustees by the Librarian of the General Library, Jan. 1878. ("Libraries," pamphlet vol. 3, no. 10, N.Y. Public Library).

²⁰ *Laws of New York, 1892, Chap. 378, sec. 35-51.*

²¹ H. M. Lydenberg, *History of the New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations* (N.Y., The Library, 1923), p. 290-7; *Library Journal*, XI (1886), 82-6.

²² *Library Journal*, I (1876), 45-51.

²³ Boston Public Library, Jamaica Plain Branch, *Proceedings at the Dedication of the . . . Dec. 6, 1877* (Boston, The Library, 1878), p. 4 (address delivered by His Honor, Frederick O. Prince, Mayor of Boston); for the manner of acceptance of tax support, see also, Newton, Mass. Free Library, *The Transfer of the Newton Free Library to the City of Newton* (Boston, Franklin Press, 1876), p. 23-4; Rev. Jesse F. Forbes, *Address at the Dedication of the Warren Public Library Building* (Warren, Mass., 1890), p. 8.

²⁴ Charles Knowles Bolton, *Brookline, the History of a Favored Town* (Brookline, Mass., Spencer, 1897), p. 124-6.

²⁵ Boston, Mass., *Report of the Joint Special Committee, Dec. 21, 1848*, Quincy Docs., no. 36 (in Boston Public Library).

²⁶ Josiah Quincy, "In Behalf of the Boston Athenaeum, Addressed to the Proprietors" (unidentified clipping in the Quincy Documents, Boston Public Library); also, Boston Athenaeum, *The Influence and History of the Boston Athenaeum from 1807 to 1907* (Boston, The Athenaeum, 1907), p. 44-7.

²⁷ *The (Boston) Gazette*, March 26, 1853; *Boston Daily Advertiser*, March 23, 1853 (clippings in Quincy Documents).

²⁸ (Article signed by "An Old Proprietor,") *Boston Daily Advertiser*, March 14, 1853; *ibid.*, March 19, 1853; *Semi-Weekly Advertiser*, March 17, 1853; (George Ticknor) *Union of the Boston Athenaeum . . . op. cit.*

²⁹ New Bedford, Mass., City Doc. no. 5, 1851, *Address of the Hon. A. H. Howland, Mayor . . . April 7, 1851*, p. 4-5; *ibid.*, City Doc. no. 1, 1853, *Address of the Hon. Rodney French, Mayor . . . April 4, 1853*, p. 5-9; George H. Tripp, "New Bedford Libraries—Then and Now," reprinted from the *Sunday Standard Times*, 1934; for statistics of income, capitalization, land valuations, etc., 1830-55, see *New Bedford, Massachusetts: Its History, Industries, Institutions, and Attractions* (published by order of the Board of Trade; New Bedford, Mercury, 1889).

³⁰ New Bedford, Mass., City Doc. no. 4, 1850, *Report of School Committee . . . 1849-50*, p. 21-4; City, Doc. no. 4 (1851) . . . *Report of School Committee, 1850-1*, p. 27, 33; City Doc. no. 6, 1853, *Report of School Committee, 1852-3*, p. 107.

³¹ New Bedford, Mass. Free Public Library, *Proceedings on the Occasion of Laying the Corner-stone of the Library Edifice for the Free Public Library of the City of New Bedford* (New Bedford, E. Anthony, 1856); *Minutes of the New Bedford Social Library* (MS in New Bedford Public Library).

³² Clipping-book containing several unidentified articles (ca. 1857-60) in Worcester, Mass. Free Public Library; (*Worcester*) *Daily Spy*, Jan. 2, Feb. 21, and March 27, 1860; Samuel Swett Green, "Public Libraries of Worcester," reprinted from *The Worcester of 1898*, p. 1-14.

³³ (*Worcester*) *Daily Spy*, March 19, 1860; *ibid.*, April 3, 14, 17, 18, and 19, 1860.

³⁴ Unidentified clipping (source noted in NOTE 32 above).

³⁵ For evidences of the early history of this library, see the following: Lowell, Mass., Mayor (Elisha Huntington), *Inaugural Address, April 1, 1844* (Lowell, Stearns and Taylor, 1844), p. 6; *ibid.*, April 7, 1845, p. 11-12; *ibid.*, Jan. 5, 1852, p. 10; *ibid.* (Sewall G. Mack), 1854, p. 13.

³⁶ Lowell, Mass. City Library, *Annual Report, 1860*, p. 4-5.

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- ³⁷ Lowell, Mass., *The Inaugural Address of his Honor Hocom Hosford, Mayor . . . Jan. 5, 1863* (Lowell, Citizen and News Press, 1863), p.28-9; Lowell, Mass. City Library, *Annual Report, 1861*, p.4.
- ³⁸ Lowell, Mass. City Library, *Annual Report, 1861*, p.4-5; 1865, p.5-6; 1867, p.4-5; 1868, p.5-6; 1877, p.8-9; Lowell, Mass., *Inaugural Address, of his Honor, George F. Richardson, Mayor . . . Jan. 7, 1867* (Lowell, Store and House, 1867), p.10, 16.
- ³⁹ W. H. B. Currier, *The History of the Public Library (Amesbury)* (Amesbury, Mass., Morse, 1898, republished from *Amesbury News*).
- ⁴⁰ Arthur Goldberg, *The Buffalo Public Library, 1836-1936* (Buffalo, privately printed, 1937), p.16-17, 20-21, 32, 60, 74, 93, 102, 109-116; Buffalo, N.Y. Public Library, *The Record of Its Organization, Its Official Proceedings, and Its Annual Financial Statement* (Buffalo, The Library, 1898), p.3.
- ⁴¹ Salem, Mass. Public Library, *Address of Hon. John M. Raymond, at the Opening of the Salem Public Library, June 26, 1889, With a Brief Historical Sketch of the Movement for the Establishment of Such a Library in Salem, and a Notice of Libraries Now in Existence in the City* (Salem, Salem Press, 1889), p.16, 21-22.
- ⁴² New Haven, Conn. Public Library, *The Free Public Library of New Haven, Conn. Containing a Brief History of the Founding of the Library, Acts of the Legislature and Court of Common Council Relating to It . . .* (New Haven, The Library, 1893), p.3-6.
- ⁴³ *Hampshire Gazette*, April 11, 1854, p.2 col.6; March 6, 1860, p.2 col.2; Feb. 10, 1874, p.2 col.5; Feb. 13, 1877, p.2 col.5; March 20, 1877, p.2 col.4.
- ⁴⁴ "Our Free Library: The Enterprise Fairly Under Way at Last," *Providence Daily Journal*, Feb. 4, 1878; also, William E. Foster, *The First Fifty Years of the Providence Public Library, 1878-1928* (Providence, The Library, 1928); Clarence E. Sherman, *The Providence Public Library, an Experiment in Enlightenment* (Providence, privately printed, 1937).
- ⁴⁵ *Providence Daily Journal*, Jan. 11, 1870, p.2 col.5.
- ⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, Jan. 28, 1870, p.5 col.3.
- ⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, Feb. 3, 1870, p.2 col.2; Feb. 4, 1870, p.1 col.4.
- ⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, May 12, 1870, p.2 col.1. The vote was 769-yes, 1211-no. This is the only negative popular vote in New England known to the author.
- ⁴⁹ "The Question of a City Library," *Providence Daily Journal*, June 2, 1870, p.2 col.1.
- ⁵⁰ "The Public Library," *Providence Daily Journal*, June 17, 1871, p.2 col.2-3.
- ⁵¹ Joint Committee to Establish a Free Public Library, Art Gallery and a Museum of Natural History in Providence, R.I., *Free Public Library, Art Gallery, and Museum in the City of Providence, R.I.* (Providence, Hammond, 1871), p.19-21.
- ⁵² Providence, R.I., *Tenth Inaugural Address of Hon. Thomas A. Doyle, Mayor, Delivered Jan. 4, 1875* (Providence, Angell, Burlingame, 1875), p.72-4.
- ⁵³ Sherman, *op. cit.*, p.29.

CHAPTER 4. DEMOCRATIC STRIVINGS

- ¹ Richard William Leopold, *Robert Dale Owen, a Biography* (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1940), p.219-35.
- ² W. E. Channing, "Remarks on National Literature," in Thorp, W., Curti, M. E., and Baker, C., eds. *American Issues* (Philadelphia, Lippincott, 1941), Vol.1, p.298-312; also, S. G. Goodrich, *Recollections of a Lifetime; or Men and Things I Have Seen . . .* (N.Y., Miller, Orton, and Mulligan, 1856), Vol.II, p.380-93.
- ³ Jesse Torrey, *The Intellectual Torch* (1815; reprinted Woodstock, Vt., Elm Tree Press, 1912), cited in Sidney Ditzion, "The District-School Library, 1835-55," *Library*

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Quarterly, X, p. 546-548; New York State University, Home Education Bulletin no.31 (1900), p.51-2, 92-3.

⁴ Cf., "Audiar," *Boston Daily Evening Transcript*, July 18, 1851; Boston Public Library, *Preliminary Report, 1852*, p.7-9, 13-22; Boston Public Library, Building Commission, *Proceedings on the Occasion of Laying the Cornerstone of the Public Library of the City of Boston, Sept. 17, 1855* (Boston, Moore and Crosby, 1855), p.16-18, Boston Public Library, *Ceremonies on the Dedication, op. cit.*, p.86; also, Providence Public Library, *First Annual Report, 1878-9*, p.8-9; *ibid.*, *Fourteenth Report, 1891*, p.9; *Fifteenth Report, 1892*, p.10; Frederick de Peyster, *The Moral and Intellectual Influence of Libraries on Social Progress* (N.Y., New York Historical Society, 1866), p.90; *Library Meeting at the Union League Club in New York City, Jan. 20, 1882*, p.3 (pamphlet in New York Public Library collection classified HB p.v.11 no.7); Enoch Pratt Free Library, *Second Annual Report, 1888*, p.3; Boston Public Library, Roxbury Branch, *Dedication Services of the Fellowes Athenaeum and Roxbury Branch . . . July 9, 1873* (Boston, The Fellowes Athenaeum, 1873), p.9.

⁵ New Bedford, Mass. Free Public Library, *Fifth Annual Report, 1857*, p.3.

⁶ North Brookfield, Mass. Public Library, *Dedication of the Hoston Free Public Library Building, Sept. 20, 1894* (Brookfield, H. J. Lawrence, 1894), p.43-5; Herkimer Free Public Library, Herkimer, N.Y., *Proceedings* (Herkimer, The Library, 1896), p.26-7; Charles W. Eliot, "Why the Republic May Endure," in A. B. Hart, ed., *American History as Told by Contemporaries* (N.Y., Macmillan, 1929), Vol.4, p.659.

⁷ Newark, N.J. Free Public Library, *Ceremonies Attending the Cornerstone Laying of the New Building, Jan. 26, 1899* (Newark, John E. Rowe, 1899), p.17-20 (speech of William T. Hunt, editor of the *Newark Sunday Call*).

⁸ *Boston Daily Evening Transcript*, Sept. 7, 1850, p.2 col.2; *Boston Daily Evening Advertiser*, March 23, 1853 (clipping in Quincy collection at Boston Public Library); Boston Public Library, Building Commission . . . *Cornerstone, op. cit.*, p.17-18, 47-49; Boston Public Library, Jamaica Plains Branch . . . *Dedication, op. cit.*, p.23; Harvard, Mass. Public Library, *Dedication Exercises June 22, 1887* (Boston, Ellis, 1888), p.20; *Dedication Exercises of the Charles Sedgwick Library and Reading-Rooms, at Lenox, Mass., Jan. 9, 1874* (Pittsfield, Mass., W. H. Phillips), p.8.

⁹ Chelsea, Mass. Public Library, *Proceedings at the Dedication of the New Library Building, Chelsea, Mass., Dec. 22, 1885; With the Address by James Russell Lowell* (Cambridge, University Press, J. Wilson, 1886), p.28; Boston Public Library, South Boston Branch, *Proceedings at the Dedication, May 16, 1872* (Boston, Rockwell & Churchill, 1872), p.21; Brookline, Mass. Public Library, *Annual Report, 1859-60*, p.35.

¹⁰ Boston Public Library, Building Commission, . . . *Cornerstone*, p.18-19; Boston Public Library, . . . *Dedication, op. cit.*, p.60; William W. Greenough, "Some Conclusions Relative to Public Libraries . . . May 22, 1874," *Journal of Social Science*, no.7 (1874), 328; Haverhill, Mass. Public Library, *Proceedings at the Dedication . . . Nov. 11, 1875 . . .* (Haverhill, C. C. Morse, 1876), p.14; Rev. J. W. Wellman, "Free Public Library," *Bibliotheca Sacra*, XXVIII (1871), 231; Rev. Dr. Potter, speech in *Library Meeting at the Union League Club in New York City, Jan. 20, 1882*, p.6-7. One finds occasional use of the idea that books might compensate for lack of money by supplying vicariously some of the opportunities (e.g., travel) possessed only by the rich. Boston Public Library, South Boston Branch, *Dedication . . . op. cit.*, p.20; Harvard Mass. Public Library, *op. cit.*, p.17.

¹¹ Providence Public Library, *Exercises at the Opening of the New Building, March 5, 1900* (Providence, Snow & Farnham, 1901), p.28; *American Bibliophilist*, VII (1875), 239.

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¹² William E. Channing, *Works* . . . (12th complete edition . . . ; Boston, Crosby, Nichols, 1853), Vol. 2, p.387-92.

¹³ Newburyport, Mass. Public Library, *Dedication Exercises of the Simpson Annex to the . . . Library Building of the City Newburyport . . . April, 1882* (Newburyport, 1882), p.28.

¹⁴ Cushman Library, Bernardston, Mass., *Address Delivered at the Dedication of the Cushman Library in Bernardston, Mass., Aug. 20, 1863, by George J. Davis* (Greenfield, Mass., S. S. Eastman, 1863), p.14; *Library Journal*, V (1880), 90-91.

¹⁵ Ralph Volney Harlow, *Gerrit Smith, Philanthropist and Reformer* (N.Y., Holt, 1939), p.232-5; *Woodhull and Claflins Weekly*, VII (Jan. 10, 1874), 8-9.

¹⁶ *Hampshire Gazette*, Feb. 22, 1881, p.1, col.4.

¹⁷ George Willis Cooke, *Unitarianism in America* . . . (Boston, American Unitarian Association, 1902), p.409-10.

¹⁸ R. B. Patton, "Public Libraries," *American Biblical Repository*, XI (1838), 174; O. D., "On Reading," *Christian Examiner*, XXVII (1839), 1-18; *ibid.*, XXX (1841), 49-56; E. R., "Books for the People," *ibid.*, XXXV (1843), 86-111; "Our Book Movement," *ibid.*, LVII (1854), 267-78; *Christian Inquirer* (N.Y.), I (1847), 121 (The Barker Library); *ibid.*, p.193 (libraries as an aspect of prison reform); "Library of the American Unitarian Association," *American Unitarian Association Quarterly Journal*, II (1855), 186-9; "The Work of the Unitarian Association in the Circulation of Its Literature," *American Unitarian Association Monthly Journal*, IX (1868), 119-32; "Our Freedmen's Libraries," *ibid.*, X (1869), 447 (acknowledgment of receipt of a non-sectarian library by the African Methodist Episcopal Church in Columbia, S.C. from the Freedmen's Department of the American Unitarian Association); *ibid.*, p.260 (list of books in a typical Freedmen's Library); *The Christian Union* contained an "Educational Notes" column which consistently praised compulsory education laws, educational improvements, library facilities, etc., e.g., III (1871), 215; V (1872), 379-81 (H. W. Beecher's address at Cooper Union); Laicus, "Our Village Library," *Christian Union*, XIV (1876), 269; Edward Everett Hale, "The Chautauqua Reading Circles," *Unitarian Review*, XXVIII (1887), 233-48.

¹⁹ *Methodist Quarterly Review*, XXIII (1841), 321; for remarks on education see *ibid.*, XXXI (1849), 145; XXXII (1850), 281; XXXIV (1852), 302; XXXVII (1855), 410; LX (1878), 43-67; LXIII (Oct. 1881), 635-54; LXVI (Apr. 1884), 396; LXVII (Jan. 1885), 56; LXXIV (Jan. 1892), 39; LXXVIII (July 1896), 640; LXXVII (Mar. 1895), 308.

²⁰ *Congregational Quarterly*, I (1859), 70-3.

²¹ *Christian Inquirer*, IV (Aug. 3, 1850), 4; *ibid.*, p.2, on Harvard College Library.

²² "Town Libraries: Dr. Wayland," *ibid.*, V (Sept. 27, 1851), 4; *ibid.*, VII (Sept. 24, 1853),

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²³ *Christian Examiner*, LXXI (1861), p.454-7; Rev. J. W. Wellman, "Free Public Libraries," *Bibliotheca Sacra*, XXVIII (1871), 209-34; *Christian Union*, XIV (1876), 132-34 (sermon by Henry Ward Beecher, Plymouth Pulpit, on "Reading"); *ibid.*, p.285, 409 (remarks on the first American Library Association Conference at Philadelphia); "Free Library for New York," *ibid.*, XXXIII (March 11, 1886), 3.

²⁴ Frank Kellar Walter, "A Poor but Respectable Relation—the Sunday School Library," *Library Quarterly*, XII (1942), 731-9; "How to Improve Sunday-School Libraries," *Christian Union*, VII (1893), 391; National Education Association, *Proceedings, 1875*, p.188; "Sunday School Libraries," *Pittsburgh Leader*, Jan. 29, 1897 (from scrapbook at Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh).

²⁵ Lydenberg, *op. cit.*, p.223, 247-54; for Archbishop Corrigan's remarks on the subject, see *New York Times*, April 18, 1901.

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²⁶ E.g., Rev. J. W. Wellman, "Free Public Libraries," *Bibliotheca Sacra*, XXVIII (1871), p.222-4.

²⁷ William R. Watson to C. A. Nelson, Jan. 27 1914 (MS in New York Public Library).

²⁸ Boston Public Library, South Boston Branch, *op. cit.*, p.19 (address of Rev. George A. Thayer); Boston Public Library, Jamaica Plain Branch, *op. cit.*, p.9-10 (address of W. W. Greenough, president Board of Trustees); Haverhill, Mass. Public Library, *Proceedings of the Dedication*, Nov. 11, 1875, p.20-1 (address by Major Ben Perley Poore); Thomas Russell, *An Address Delivered at Dedication of the Hingham (Mass.) Public Library*, p.10; South Weymouth, Mass. Public Library, *Dedication of the Fogg Library* . . . Sept. 14, 1898 (South Weymouth, H. H. Joy, 1898), p.30-1; Norton (Mass.) Public Library, *Dedication of the Norton Public Library* (Norton, Lane, 1888), p.49-50; North Brookfield, Mass. . . . *Haston* . . . *op. cit.*, p.25-6, 45; Manchester, Vt., *Proceedings at the Opening of the Mark Skinner Library, Manchester, Vermont*, July 7, 1897 (Chicago, 1898), p.31; Buffalo, N.Y. Public Library, *The Record of Its Organization* . . . p.82.

²⁹ Boston Public Library, *Preliminary Report*, 1852, p.5-16; "Canty Carl," *loc. cit.*; Wight's speech to the Massachusetts legislature, cf. Chapter II; Librarians' Convention, 1853, *op. cit.*, p.15.

³⁰ *Dedicatory Exercises of the Baxter Building to the Uses of the Portland Public Library and Maine Historical Society*, Thursday, February 21, 1839 (Auburn, Maine, Lakeside Press, 1889), p.8-13; Newark, N.J. Free Public Library, *Opening Exercises* . . . p.21-3; *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, Jan. 15, 1897 (reception for Andrew Carnegie); *Exercises at the Dedication of the Fowler Library Building, Concord, New Hampshire*, Oct. 18, 1888 (Concord, Republican Press, 1889), p.60-2.

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³⁴ *New England Magazine*, *supra*; *Citizen* (Philadelphia) I (1896), 56.

³⁵ Statistics and materials concerning urban population, wealth, value of products, public services, etc., have been studied from volume 18 of the 1880 *Census*, "Social Statistics of Cities"; analyses made by Turner, *The United States, 1830-1850* . . . p.93-103, were extremely helpful.

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³⁷ Douglas Waples, Bernard Berelson, and Franklyn R. Bradshaw, *What Reading Does to People; A Summary of Evidence on the Social Effects of Reading and a Statement of Problems for Research* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1940), p.7-8.

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³⁹ "Social Statistics of Cities," *Census 1880*, *op. cit.*

⁴⁰ F. J. Turner, *United States, 1830-1850; The Nation and Its Sections . . .* (N.Y., Holt, 1935), p.112; The increase of population in Massachusetts from 1840 to 1860 was 67 per cent, while the increase of property valuation was 200 per cent in the same period (Massachusetts, Board of Education, *Twenty-fifth Annual Report, 1861*), p.108.

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⁴⁴ Boston Public Library, Jamaica Plain Branch, *op. cit.*, p.5 (address of Frederick O. Prince, Mayor of Boston).

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⁵¹ *Providence Daily Journal*, Jan. 4, 1878, p.2, col.3-6 (address of Prof. J. Lewis Diman of Brown University at the dedication of the Rogers Free Library, Briston, R.I.).

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CHAPTER 5. THE LIBRARY'S FUNCTION AS AN EDUCATOR OF THE PEOPLE

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¹⁴ Contrary to the supposition that Chautauqua stimulated library use, Thomas Wentworth Higginson felt that Chautauqua, as well as other home study movements, was "based on the free library system, implying it for their full development" (extracted

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¹⁵ Herbert Putnam, "Address of the President," *Library Journal*, XXIII (1898), C.p.7; J. H. Vincent, "The Meaning of Chautauqua," *ibid.*, C.p.131-4; cf. also, the circular distributed to members of the A.L.A. at this meeting: "At the same time our meeting at Chautauqua indicates the desirability of making prominent the organized coworkers of the A.L.A. represented by the reading circles, study clubs, summer schools, extension courses and various other agencies of which the most extensive and widely known is Chautauqua itself, where we shall devote one day on the grounds to making the librarians of the country better acquainted with this important educational movement . . ." (circular in MS papers of Charles Augustus Nelson at New York Public Library).

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²¹ Margaret E. Parker, *Six Happy Weeks Among the Americans: a Temperance Tour Through Canada and the United States* (Glasgow, The Author, 1876), p.88; Anthony Trollope, *North America* (London, Chapman and Hall, 1862), Vol. I, p.360-1; Max Bahr, *Reise Berichte über America* (Landesberg, F. Schaffer, 1906), p.52; also *Library Journal*, III (1878), 127; *ibid.*, I (1876), 90.

²² *National Labor Tribune*, Aug. 12, 1897, p.3 col.5.

²³ *Critic*, XVII (1892), 306; in speaking of the New York Free Circulating Library, Lydenberg (*op. cit.*, p.227) says: "The first president, the first secretary, the first chairman of the committee on ways and means, the first chairman of the building committee and the first librarian were women. Of the forty trustees that served from 1880 to 1901 nineteen were women. The working staff was almost entirely feminine."

²⁴ George Grosvenor Dawe, *Melvil Dewey, Seer; Inspirer; Doer, 1851-1931* . . . Lake Placid Club (N.Y., Forest Press, 1932), p.184-97.

²⁵ To Members of the A.L.A. Columbian Exposition Committee. Reaffirmation of Miss Culler's Heading the Exposition Committee (Albany, N.Y., June 22, 1892).

²⁶ "A Public Library," *Massachusetts Teacher*, IV (1851), 255-6 (letter from Edward

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Everett to Mayor of Boston, June 7, 1851); also, Boston Public Library . . . *Cornerstone* . . . *op. cit.*, p.47-48.

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⁴⁴ Josephine Adams Rathbone, "Cooperation Between Libraries and Schools; an Historical Sketch" (read before the Long Island Library Club, Feb. 7, 1901), in Arthur E. Bostwick, *The Relationship Between the Library and the Schools*, *op. cit.*, p.11-22; Providence Public Library, *First Annual Report*, 1878-79, p.11-12; *ibid.*, *Second Annual Report*, 1879-80, p.9; *ibid.*, *Third Annual Report*, 1880, p.8; *ibid.*, *Seventeenth Annual Report*, 1894, p.5-6; Providence Public Library, *The New Building of the Providence Public Library. Exercises at the Opening of the New Building*, March 15, 1900 . . . (Providence, Snow & Farnham, 1901), p.26; Providence, R.I. Public Library, *The First Fifty Years* . . . *op. cit.*, p.20-1; Boston Public Library, *Twenty-seventh Annual Report* (1879), p.23-6; *ibid.*, *Twenty-eighth Annual Report*, (1880), p.19-22; *ibid.*, *Thirty-sixth Annual Report*, 1887, p.20-3; S. S. Green, *Public Libraries of Worcester* (reprinted from "The Worcester of 1898"), p.5; "Public Library of Worcester, Mass." (unidentified paper in collection at Worcester Public Library); Quincy, Mass. Public Library, *Tenth Annual Report of the Trustees* . . . Feb. 1, 1888, p.5-6; Rhode Island, Commissioner of Public Schools, *Thirty-eighth Annual Report*, 1882, appendix, p.79 (report from Pawtucket); Lydenberg, *op. cit.*, p.227; Hannah P. James, "Yearly Report on the Reading of the Young," *Library Journal*, X (1885), 278-91 (reports from seventy-five cities).

⁴⁵ Cf., Sidney Ditzion, "The District-School Library," *op. cit.*; Henry L. Cecil and Willard A. Heaps, *School Library Service in the United States; an Interpretative Survey* (N.Y., Wilson, 1940), p.41-50.

⁴⁶ "Mr. Divoll and the Public School Library of St. Louis (by Hermes)," *Journal of Education* (St. Louis), I (1868), 1-2; "Libraries," *ibid.*, III (1871), 10; "Book-Classification," St. Louis Board of Education, *Sixteenth Annual Report*, 1870, p.133-8; "The Public School Library," *ibid.*, *Nineteenth Annual Report*, 1873, p.148-54; "The Library-language Culture," *ibid.*, *Twenty-second Annual Report*, 1876, p.137-43; "The Public School Library: Reading Fiction as an Educator," *ibid.*, *Twenty-fifth Annual Report*, 1879, p.148-55; "Course of Reading," *Western* (St. Louis), N.S. I (1875), 578-86; "The Function of the Library and the School in Education," *National Education Association, Proceedings and Addresses*, 1887, p.267-9.

⁴⁷ E.g., (1) J. Emory Hoar, high-school principal, was chosen as first librarian of the Brookline (Mass.) Public Library (1857); (2) the principal of the Willison Seminary and the chairman of the school committee were ex-officio members of the board of library trustees at Easthampton, Mass. (1869); (3) the Cohasset Free Public Library, established in 1878, owed its origin to the Rev. Joseph Osgood, who in his report of that year as Superintendent of Schools, urged the establishment of a public library; also, *Address Delivered Before the Pawcatuck Library Association at Its Annual Meeting, Dec. 19, 1870*, by O. H. Kile, A.M., *Superintendent and Principal of Public Schools in District number one, Westerly, R.I.* . . . (Providence, Providence Press, 1871); Daniel Coit Gilman, *Development of the Public Library in America* . . . *Cornell University Library*, 1891, Ithaca, N.Y.; *Dedication of the Hoston Free Public Library Building, North Brookfield, Mass., Sept. 20, 1894* (North Brookfield, H. J. Lawrence, 1894), p.16-18 (address of G. Stanley Hall, President of Clark University).

⁴⁸ *Connecticut Common School Journal*, I (1839), 43, 116, 119, 149, 170; II (1839-40), 11, 67-8, 194-5; III (1840-41), 26, 87, 119, 121-4, 161; IV (1842), 134, 136, 140; *Common School Journal* (Mass.), I (1839), 29-30, 47, 71, 85, 86, 107-8, 126, 177-81, 244, 267, 310; III (1841), 326-33; XI (1849), 55-7; XIII (1851), 257-64, 302-4.

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⁴⁹ *Journal of the Rhode Island Institute of Instruction*, I (1845), 15-16; II (1847), 163-211; III (1848), 425-548.

⁵⁰ George S. Hillard, "History of the Boston Public Library," *American Journal of Education* (Barnard), II (1856), 203-4; "The Public Library of Boston," *ibid.*, VII (1859), 253-72; also, I (1856), 189, 196; II (1856), 210; III (1857), 226; V (1858), 401-3; XV (1865), 212, 241, 255, 303; XXVII (1877), 389; XXXI (1881), 369-74; for further reference to Henry Barnard's interest in public libraries see Richard Emmons Thursfield, *Henry Barnard's American Journal of Education*, "Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science," Series 63 no.1 (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1945), *passim*.

⁵¹ "A Public Library," *Massachusetts Teacher*, IV (1851), 255-6.

⁵² Samuel A. Eliot, "A Complete System of Public Education; a Lecture Delivered Before the American Academy of Arts and Sciences," *Massachusetts Teacher*, VI (1853), 82-94.

⁵³ From a perusal of available educational periodicals of this period, the following items may be cited as being of interest to students of library history: *Massachusetts Teacher*, "Social Improvement," I (1849), 32 (quotation from Sir John Herschel on the importance of developing a taste for reading); "Library for the Teacher's Table," *ibid.*, p.45-6 (concerning small reference collections to be used in connection with classroom teaching); "Common School Libraries," IV (1851), 191; "Books for Reference in Schools," V (1852), 156; "Choate on the Priceless Value of the Love of Reading," VIII (1855), 54-6 (from an address delivered at the inauguration of the Peabody Institute); "High School in Wayland, Massachusetts," *ibid.*, p.249-51 (in connection with the opposition of taxpayers to support of a high school, intimates that the public library may some day come under attack along with the high school); "Libraries for Academies and High Schools," X (1857), 241-54; XIII (1860), 32-3; XIV (1861), 76; XVIII (1865), 85-7; XXII (1869), 137; *New Hampshire Journal of Education*, III (1859), 327-8; *Pennsylvania School Journal*, I (1853), 338-9, 428-9, 451-2, 458-9; III (1854-55), 131, 208-11; IV (1856), 323-6, 347-9; V (1856), 116-18; VI (1858), 219-20, 380-4; XII (1864), 198-9, 208-15; XIII (1864-5), 31-3, 218-19; XIV (1865), 68; XXI (1873), 296; XXXII (1883), 61-5; XXXVI (1888), 296-7; XLVI (1897-8), 181-2, 301-2; XLVII (1899), 21-4; XLIV (1900), p.598-600; L (1901), 427-30.

⁵⁴ (*New England*) *Journal of Education*, V (1877), 133, 147, 160; VI (1877), 205; VII (1878), 25, 103, 197, 276, 312; IX (1879), 172; XI (1886), 171, 280, 342, 430; XVII (1883), 4; XVIII (1883), 245, 373; XXI (1885), 67; XXX (1889), 204, 344; XXXV (1892), 69, 104, 135; XXVIII (1893), 193; XL (1894), 144; XLI (1895), 400; XLII (1895), 92; XLIII (1896), 207, 312, 346, 383; XLV (1897), 23; XLVII (1898), 215; XLVII (1898), 215; XLVIII (1898), 94; XLIX (1899), 323-6; L (1899), 123-4; LI (1900), 196; LII (1900), 40, 279, 375-6.

⁵⁵ Maine Education Department, *Fifth Report, 1851*, p.23-4.

⁵⁶ Massachusetts Board of Education, *Twenty-fourth Report, 1860*, p.149-63; *The Twenty-fifth Report, 1861*, p.108 (relates the story of the activities of Francis Wayland and John B. Wight in behalf of the Massachusetts Library Law of 1851); Cf. also, H. E. Scudder, "The Libraries of Massachusetts," *ibid.*, *Fortieth Report, 1875-76*, p.3-33 (for fuller historical and factual account of library interest in Massachusetts).

⁵⁷ Massachusetts Board of Education, *Twenty-eighth Report, 1864*, p.45-6.

⁵⁸ *ibid.*, *Thirty-third Report, 1869*, p.175, 208, 262-3; *Thirty-fourth Report, 1870*, p.84, 102, 129-30; *Thirty-fifth Report, 1871*, p.65, 218; *Thirty-seventh Report, 1872-73*, p.111.

⁵⁹ Rhode Island Commissioner of Public Schools, *Twenty-seventh Annual Report, 1871*, p.44-53; *ibid.*, *Twenty-eighth Annual Report, 1872*, p.48-9; *ibid.*, *Thirtieth Annual Report, 1874*, p.89; R.I. Board of Education, *Fourth Annual Report, 1873*, p.12-13.

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- ⁶⁰ Rhode Island Board of Education, *Sixth Annual Report, 1875*, p.19-23.
- ⁶¹ *Ibid.*, *Annual Reports, 1876*, p.17-18; *1877*, p.12; *1878*, p.12; *1880*, p.9, 13-15, 104-6; *1881*, p.10-11; *1882*, p.9-11; *1884*, p.7; *1894*, p.22-4; *1896*, p.23-5; R.I. Commissioner of Public Schools, *Annual Reports, 1876*, p.91-2; *1877*, p.78-80; *1878*, app. p.68-9; *1879*, p.126-31, app. p.59; *1880*, app. p.56-8; *1881*, p.122-3, app. p.65.
- ⁶² Cf. NOTE 19, this chapter.
- ⁶³ Vermont, State Superintendent of Education, *Thirty-second School Report, 1891-2*, p.70, 300, 342-4; *Thirty-fourth School Report, 1895-6*, p.129-30; *Thirty-sixth School Report, 1899-1900*, p.37-8.
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- ⁶⁵ U.S. Bureau of Education, *Public Libraries . . . (1876)*, loc. cit.
- ⁶⁶ "Papers Prepared for the World's Library Congress," U.S. Bureau of Education, *Annual Report, 1893*, p.691-1014.
- ⁶⁷ For a listing of this material see "Index to the Reports of the Commissioner of Education: 1867-1907," U.S. Bureau of Education, *Bulletin, 1907*, no.7, p.53.
- ⁶⁸ U.S. Bureau of Education, *World's Columbia Exposition, Bulletin 7*, Jan. 21, 1893.

CHAPTER 6. THE HUMANITARIAN IDEA

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- ² A. C. Cole, *The Irrepressible Conflict, 1850-1865* (N.Y., Macmillan, 1934), p.32-3.
- ³ Moody, *op. cit.*, p.218-24; Alan Nevins, *The Emergence of Modern America, 1865-1878* (N.Y., Macmillan, 1935), p.318-26.
- ⁴ Cole, *op. cit.*, p.153-60; Nevins, *supra*, p.301; Arthur Meier Schlesinger, *The Rise of the City, 1878-1898* (N.Y., Macmillan, 1933), p.157-8; "Horace Mann in New Orleans: A Note on the Decline of Humanitarianism in American Education, 1837-1937," *School and Society*, XLV (1937), p.607-8.
- ⁵ "American Social Science Association," *Barnard's American Journal of Education*, XVI (1866), 393.
- ⁶ *Journal of Social Science*, no.2, V, Ainsworth Spofford, "The Public Libraries of the United States"; no.7, VI, W. W. Greenough, "Free Lending Libraries"; no.12, II, Samuel S. Green, "The Relation of the Public Library to the Public Schools"; no.18, IV, 2, J. M. Larned, "Public Libraries"; no.39, III, 2, Melvil Dewey, "The Future of the Library Movement in the United States in the Light of Andrew Carnegie's Recent Gift." *The British Almanac of 1869* (p.40) lists numerous articles on free libraries in *Social Science Transactions*, *Social Reformer*, and *Meliora*.
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- ⁸ New Bedford, Mass. Free Public Library, *First Annual Report, 1853*, p.6; *ibid.*, *Fourth Annual Report, 1856*, p.5; Boston Public Library, South Boston Branch, *Proceedings . . . May 16, 1872, op. cit.*, p.19; Norton, Mass. Public Library, *Dedication, op. cit.*, p.37; Concord, N.H. Public Library, *Exercises at the Dedication of the Fowler Library Building . . . Oct. 18, 1888* (Concord, Republican Press, 1889), p.62; Enoch Pratt Free Library, Baltimore, Md., *Second Annual Report, 1888*, p.6-7.
- ⁹ "Audiar," *Boston Daily Evening Transcript*, July 7, 1851; *Free Public Libraries: Suggestions on Their Foundation and Administration . . .* (Boston, American Social Science Association, 1871), p.7; Wm. C. Todd, "Periodicals and Free Reading Rooms," in Newburyport, Mass. Public Library, *Dedication of the Simpson Annex, op. cit.*, p.35; Boston Public Library, Jamaica Plains Branch, *op. cit.*, p.22; Herkimer, N.Y. Free Li-

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¹⁰ New Bedford, Mass. Free Public Library, *Fourth Annual Report, 1856*, p.5; "Mr. Smith's Library," in *Providence Daily Journal*, Dec. 19, 1871, p.2, col.4; Boston Public Library, South Boston Branch, *Proceedings at the Dedication . . . May 16, 1872*, p.9; Spencer, Mass. Richard Sugden Public Library, *Dedication of the Richard Sugden Library; a Description* (Spencer, C. H. Hamilton, 1889), p.34-5 (quotation from Herschel's often used dictum on public libraries); Alexander Ireland, *Address . . . at Opening of the Longsight Branch Library, Manchester, July 3, 1892* (Manchester, England, Henry Blacklock, 1892), p.8 (quoted from John Morley).

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¹³ Brookline, Mass., *op. cit.*, p.34.

¹⁴ Bates to Ward, letters printed in *A Memorial to Joshua Bates, op. cit.*, p.40-2; further citations on this aspect of humanitarianism in the library movement: *Boston Daily Evening Transcript*, Sept. 21, 1850, p.1, col.3; also Worcester Public Library, *Fourth Annual Report, 1863*, p.2; *Putnam's Magazine*, V (1870), p.612; Concord, N.H., *Proceedings of the Town Meeting, 1852*, p.30: "Perils of Life in Cities," *Worcester Palladium*, Dec. 14, 1859; George S. Hillard, "Hours of Peril," *ibid.*; Lowell, Mass. City Library, *Annual Report, 1865*, p.5; *Providence Daily Journal*, Feb. 15, 1871, p.1, col.3 ("Dedication of Free Library Edifice," from *East Greenwich Pendulum*); *Public Opinion*, XV (1893), p.150, quoted from T. L. Kelso, in *Arena*, VII (1893), 711.

¹⁵ William J. Rhees, *Manual of Public Libraries, Institutions, and Societies in the United States . . .* (Philadelphia, Lippincott, 1859), p.120-1; "Library of the New York Association," *Association Monthly*, I (1870), 331 (established in 1852); *Harpers Weekly*, XIII (1869), 785; *Library Journal*, XVI (1891), 92; for further citations of Y.M.C.A. interest in libraries and librarianship, see "Trained Librarians," *Association Notes*, N.S. III (May 1888), 7; "Association Library Catalog," *ibid.*, N.S. V (March 1890), 3-4; "American Library Association," *ibid.*, N.S. IX (Nov. 1894), 2; "Lists of Periodicals in Y.M.C.A. Branches," *ibid.*, N.S. XV (April 1900), 16-21.

¹⁶ *Library Journal*, XVIII (1893), 296.

¹⁷ Nevins, *op. cit.*, p.346.

¹⁸ S. W. Cattell, "Working in Y.W.C.A. Libraries," *Library Journal*, XVII (1892), C.p. 91-2. Two years after this article appeared, the author enlarged her conception of function to include cultural and intellectual as well as moral aims (*Library Journal*, XIX (1894), 121-4).

¹⁹ C. L. Brace, *The Dangerous Classes of New York and Twenty Years' Work Among Them* (N.Y., Wynkoop and Hallenbeck, 1872), p.266-97.

²⁰ *New York Daily Tribune*, Oct. 27, 1858, p.5.

²¹ Lydenberg, *op. cit.*, p.199-211 (quotations from *New York Times* of Jan. 13, 1884, p.6 col.4).

²² New York Free Circulating Library, *First Annual Report, 1880*, p.16, 20; *ibid.*, *Sixth Annual Report, 1885*, p.12; *ibid.*, *Tenth Annual Report, 1889*, p.6; *ibid.*, *Thirteenth Annual Report, 1892*, p.7.

²³ *Library Journal*, IV (1879), 133-4; *New York Daily Tribune*, Feb. 5, 1882, p.6, col.2; *Library Meeting at the Union League Club in New York City Jan. 20, 1882*, p.3-8 (Pamphlet in N.Y. Public Library collection); Sidney Ditzion, "Social Reforms, Education and the Library," *Library Quarterly*, IX (1939), 160-4; "Meeting in Favor of the New York Free Circulating Library," *Library Journal*, XV (1890), 106.

²⁴ See periodical references in Chapter IX on N.Y., NOTE 18.

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- ²⁵ Lydenberg, *op. cit.*, p.241-81.
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- ²⁷ Jared M. Heard, *op. cit.*, p.10 (from Wight's remarks in the Massachusetts legislature in behalf of the library bill of 1851); "Audiar," *loc. cit.*; New Bedford, Mass. Free Public Library, *First Annual Report, 1853*, p.8-10; *ibid.*, *Fourth Annual Report, 1856*, p.7-8; *American Magazine of Civics*, VI (1894), 480; Herkimer, N.Y. Free Library, *op. cit.*, p.27; *Public Opinion*, XV (1893), 127 (quoted from George R. Humphery in the 19th Century).
- ²⁸ *Public Opinion*, VII (1899), 461 (quoted from James M. Hubbard in the *North American Review*. This article rose out of a personal dispute between Hubbard and the Board of Trustees at the Boston Public Library).
- ²⁹ *Christian Inquirer*, I (1847), 193 (cites reports on library work in the Mt. Pleasant and Clinton State Prisons in New York); U.S. Bureau of Education, *Public Libraries* . . . (1876), p.218-29.
- ³⁰ Boston, Mayor, *Address . . . 1848* (Boston City Doc. no.1, 1848), p.5; Benjamin Seaver, *Address Delivered by . . . Mayor of the City, to the Board of Aldermen, on the Occasion of His Retiring From Office, Dec. 31, 1853* (Boston, Eastburn, 1853), p.14.
- ³¹ Lowell, Mass. City Library, *Annual Report, 1865*, p.5.
- ³² *Ibid.*, 1866, p.5.
- ³³ Boston Public Library, Jamaica Plains Branch, *op. cit.*, p.8; Homer Baxter Sprague, *Address at the Dedication of the Town Library Building, Erected for the West Brookfield Free Library and Reading-Room, Delivered . . . Nov. 12, 1880* (Springfield, Mass., Weaver, Shipman, 1882), p.14-15; Monson, Mass. Free Library and Reading Room Association, *Dedication of the Lyon Memorial Library Building . . . op. cit.*, p.9; *Library Meeting at the Union League Club . . . op. cit.*, p. 3; *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, Jan. 15, 1897 (reception for Andrew Carnegie); Belmont, Mass. Public Library, *Address at the Opening of the New Library Building, June 17, 1902* (Belmont, The Trustees, 1903), p.22; *Critic*, V (1886), 189.
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- ³⁵ Providence Public Library, *Exercises at the Opening of the New Building, March 15, 1900 . . .* (Providence, Snow and Farnham, 1901), p.30-1.
- ³⁶ John Allen Krout, *The Origins of Prohibition, op. cit.*, p.233-7; *Harpers Weekly*, I (1859), 209.
- ³⁷ Krout, *op. cit.*, p.89, 92, 147. Abbot's cousin of the same name, Ticknor's father, and Lawrence's brother were leaders in the Massachusetts temperance movement.
- ³⁸ *Independent Democrat* (Concord, N.H.), March 18, 1852; *Inaugural Address of His Honor Josiah G. Peabody . . . Jan. 2, 1865* (Lowell, Mass., Stone and Huse, 1866), p.16 (Lowell, Mass. City Documents, 1864); Lowell, Mass. City Library, *Annual Report, 1865*, p.5.
- ³⁹ E.g., *Boston Daily Evening Transcript*, Jan. 30, 1850 (Canty Carl); Boston Public Library, South Boston Branch, *Proceedings at the Dedication . . . May 16, 1872, op. cit.*, p.20; Rev. Jesse F. Forbes, *Address at the Dedication of the Warren Public Library Building, July 1, 1890, op. cit.*, p.6; Hingham, Mass. (Address of Thomas Russell), *op. cit.*, p.12; Huntington Free Library, Westchester, N.Y. *Souvenir of the West Chester Library and Reading Room* (Westchester, N.Y.C. Protectory Print, 1891), p.19.
- ⁴⁰ E.g., Samuel Rodman and James B. Congdon, leading figures in the early New Bedford Public Library; Moses Shute, member of the Concord, N.H. town committee to report on a proposed library; and James Hilton, leading donor to the library at Brighton, Massachusetts.

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⁴¹ John B. Gough donated books to the Boyleston, Mass. Public Library; Henry Ward Beecher, speech at the library meeting in New York (1858); Ditzion, "Social Reform . . ." *op. cit.*, p.16-23.

⁴² Constance M. Green, *op. cit.*, p.54.

⁴³ Howard L. Hughes, *Schools and Libraries*, in Trenton Historical Society, *History of Trenton, 1679-1929* . . . (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1929), p.765-6.

⁴⁴ "Temperance Saloons, Coffee-Houses, etc.," *National Temperance Advocate*, I (1866), 121; "Free Reading-Rooms," *ibid.*, II (1867), 8-9; "Temperance Libraries," *ibid.*, II (1867), 89; E. Z. C. Judson, "Pawned and Redeemed; or, Tempted, Wrecked and Rescued," *ibid.*, III (1868), 81; "A Chat About Books," *ibid.*, p.88; "How to Spend Winter Evenings," *ibid.*, III (1868), 6-7; "Temperance Coffee Houses in Philadelphia—Mr. Joshua Bailey's Successful Experiment," *ibid.*, X (1875), 179; Frances E. Willard, "Young Women's Temperance Unions," *ibid.*, XII (1877), 115; Ernest Gilmore, "The New Coffee-Room; a New Year's Story," *ibid.*, XVI (1881), 18; "Fight Them With Books," *ibid.*, VI (1871), 20.

⁴⁵ M. E. Winslow, "The Brooklyn Temperance Restaurant," *National Temperance Advocate*, X (1875), 98; D. W. Gage, "Friendly Inns," *ibid.*, XI (1876), 70-1 (mentions the opening of many inns in Germany modeled on the American ones); *ibid.*, XVIII (Aug. 1883), 139 (Free Reading Room for boys recently established on 14th St. near Union Square, N.Y. City by the Young Ladies' Christian Temperance Union and the Boys' Local Legion).

⁴⁶ National Woman's Christian Temperance Union, *Minutes of the Fourth Convention* . . . 1877, p.73-6, and Secretaries' Reports, p.28, 32-3, 36; *ibid.*, *Eighth Annual Meeting* . . . 1881, p.lxx; *ibid.*, *Twelfth Annual Meeting*, 1885, p.132-3.

⁴⁷ Rev. William M. Thayer, "Temperance Literature," *National Temperance Advocate*, XIV (1879), 10; National W.C.T.U., *Minutes of the Fourth Convention* 1877, p.204-8.

⁴⁸ Women's Christian Temperance Union of New Jersey, *Minutes of the Thirteenth Annual Convention* . . . 1886, p.83; National W.C.T.U., *Fifteenth Annual Meeting* . . . 1888, p.194-5, 260-7; Frances Elizabeth Willard, *Woman and Temperance: or the Work and Workers of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union* (Hartford, Conn., Park Publishing, 1884), p.531.

⁴⁹ Rev. W. M. Thayer, *loc. cit.*; "A Chat About Books," *National Temperance Advocate*, III (1868), 88; *ibid.*, III (1868), 37, 108; Rev. N. E. Cobleigh, "Circulate Our Literature," V (1870), 22; cf., Krout, *op. cit.*, p.241, for similar activities before 1850.

⁵⁰ *National Temperance Advocate*, I (1866), 75, 80, 192; *ibid.*, II (1867), 184; Rev. W. C. Smith, "Temperance in Sunday Schools," *ibid.*, III (1868), 165; National W.C.T.U. *Fourth Annual Meeting*, 1877, p.101; *Eighth Annual Meeting*, 1881, p.xii.

⁵¹ Julia Coleman, "Temperance in Education," *National Temperance Advocate*, V (1870), 86; *National Temperance Advocate*, XIII (1878), 88, 184-5; *ibid.*, XVI (1881), 98.

⁵² Coleman, *supra*; National W.C.T.U., *Fifteenth Annual Meeting* . . . 1888, p.181.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ Communication of the Rev. Z. Baker, undated clipping from the (Worcester) *Daily Spy* (in scrapbook at Worcester Public Library).

⁵⁵ F. M. Crunden, *The Function of a Public Library and Its Value to a Community* (St. Louis, Nixon-Jones, 1884), p. 15; F. M. Crunden, *The Free Public Library, Its Uses and Value*, (St. Louis, Studley, 1893), p.4; F. M. Crunden, "The Free Public Library," *Lend-a-Hand*, X (1893), 403.

⁵⁶ (C. A. Cutter) "A Librarian on Free Libraries," *Nation*, IX (1869), 233-4.

⁵⁷ T. L. Kelso, "Some Economical Features of Public Libraries," *Arena*, VII (1893), 711.

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- ⁵⁸ *Library Journal*, I (1876), 99.
⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, XV (1890), 86, 351; J. M. Hubbard, "Are Public Libraries Blessings?" *Library Journal*, XIV (1889), 407.
⁶⁰ *Library Journal*, XVI (1891), 77, 341.
⁶¹ J. H. Whittier, "State Aid to Libraries," *Library Journal*, XVII (1892), 104.
⁶² "A.L.A. Library Primer," *Public Libraries*, I (1896), 5-6; Chalmers Hadley, *A.L.A. Material for a Public Library Campaign* (Boston, American Library Association, 1907).

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² "A Free Lending Library for New York," *Scribner's Monthly*, XX (1880), 931, cited in Thomas Greenwood, *Free Public Libraries* (London, Simpkin, 1890), p.34.
³ John Coolidge, "Low Cost Housing in New England," *New England Quarterly*, XIV (1941), 10-18; New Hampshire Library Association, *The Centenary . . . op. cit.*, p.6; U.S. Bureau of Education, *Public Libraries in the United States, 1876*, p.403-4; *Inland Educator* (Sept. 1889), p.65-9, cited in M. E. Curti, *Social Ideas of American Educators*, p.239.
⁴ William J. Rhees, *Manual of Public Libraries, Institutions and Societies in the United States . . .* (Lippincott, Philadelphia, 1859), p.147-8; Lawrence, Mass. Public Library, *Fifth Annual Report, 1877*, p.12.
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⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, XXII (March 1897), 155.

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- ⁸⁴ J. C. Sylvis, *op. cit.*, p.400-3; M. E. Curti, *Social Ideas of American Educators* (N.Y., Scribners, 1935), p.235.
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- ⁹⁰ *Boston Daily Atlas*, Feb. 4, 1850 (remarks of Hon. Marshall P. Wilder, delivered at the Legislative Agricultural meeting, on Tuesday evening, Jan. 29); *Cultivator*, N.S. IX (1852), 87; *ibid.*, X (1862), 205.
- ⁹¹ *Country Gentleman*, LVII (1892), 796; *ibid.*, LVIII (1893), 524; J. H. Whittier, *State Aid to Libraries, op. cit.*, p.16 (paper read to Eastern New Hampshire Pomona Grange); Greathouse, *op. cit.*, p.509.

CHAPTER 8. THE STIMULUS OF PHILANTHROPY

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¹² Rhee, *op. cit.*, p.162-3 (statement of George Peabody accompanying gift to South Danvers, Mass.); Sidney Augustus Bull, *History of the Town of Carlisle, Mass. 1754-1920 . . .* (Cambridge, Mass., Murray Printing, 1920), p.107; Homer Baxter Sprague, *op. cit.*, p.15. In the case of Philip Maret's bequest to the city of New Haven, we have a successful Boston merchant who, upon his retirement, moved to New Haven and transplanted an idea which had achieved notable success in his own city. *The Free Public Library of New Haven . . .*, *op. cit.*, p.3.

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¹⁷ *New Bedford (Free Public Library), Its History . . . op. cit.*, p.21; Thayer Library and Art Building, Keene, N.H. *Proceedings at the Dedication . . . Feb. 28, 1899* (Keene, Sentinel Printing, 1899), p.23-4 (description of Judge Thayer by G. Stanley Hall); South Weymouth, Mass., *op. cit.*, p.28-9.

¹⁸ "The Public Library," *Providence Daily Journal*, June 17, 1871, p.2, col.2-3 (extract from Cooper's reply to the graduates' presentation address—read by Reuben A. Guild, at a meeting of representatives of various Providence organizations interested in establishing a public library).

¹⁹ Halvdan Koht, "The Class Struggle in Modern History," *Journal of Modern History*, I (Sept. 1929), 253-60. Koht objects to the conventional treatments of a class struggle situation which require class consciousness aimed directly at a reorganization of economic relationships between the upper and lower classes. "Such criterion seems to me . . . to have no good historical foundation. Indeed, a clear consciousness of the purport of a historical movement most frequently occurs only subsequently. The scientific study of history ought not to avoid arranging also the instructive, seemingly accidental and entirely unconscious movements under this general point of view."

²⁰ Leon Bourgeois, "Les bibliothèques aux Etats-Unis," *Journal des Economistes*, 1878 (quoted in *Library Journal*, III (1878), 162); an anecdote which describes the manner in which Cobden secured support from a group of British gentlemen for the Manchester Athenaeum, shows that the British middle class considered such institutions as personal and property insurances against a possible threat to their authority ("The Eight-Hour System," *Workingmen's Advocate*, July 20, 1872, p.2, col.3).

²¹ Uxbridge, Mass. Free Public Library, *op. cit.*, p.26-34.

²² *Free Public Library, Art Gallery, and Museum in the City of Providence, R.I.* (Providence, Hammond, Angell, 1871), p.19 (from the report of a joint committee on the establishment of a free library in Providence).

²³ Boston, Mass. Public Library, *Proceedings at the Dedication . . .* (Boston, Rand and Avery, 1858), p.60 (R. C. Winthrop's address); p.86 (Mayor Rice's speech); Enoch Pratt Free Library, *Second Annual Report, 1888*, p.3.

²⁴ Boston, City Council, *Memorial of Joshua Bates, op. cit.*, p.40 (Bates to Ward, Oct. 1, 1852).

²⁵ *Library Journal*, XXI (1896), 284.

²⁶ Thomas Russell (president of Princeton University), *An Address Delivered at the Dedication of the Hingham (Mass.) Public Library, 1871*, p.11; W. I. Fletcher, *Public Libraries in America* (Boston, Roberts, 1894), p.34-5.

²⁷ Worcester Public Library, *Seventh Annual Report, 1866*, p.22-3; also Newburyport, Mass. Public Library, *Dedication of the Simpson Memorial Library, op. cit.*, p.28 (extract from a letter of Mr. Peabody).

²⁸ "New York's Great Need," *Critic*, V (April 17, 1886), 189-90. West Brookfield, Mass. Free Library, *op. cit.*, p.14-15; Dr. John Hall, speech in *Library Meeting at the Union Club in N.Y. City*, Jan. 20, 1882, *op. cit.*, p.4.

²⁹ Mark Skinner, Manchester, Vt., *Proceedings at the Opening of the . . . Library, July 7, 1897* (Chicago, 1898), p.31.

³⁰ Thomas Russell (Hingham, Mass.), *op. cit.*, p.10.

³¹ Wilmington, Del. Institute, *Twenty-ninth Annual Report, 1886*, p.34; *New York Evening Post*, Aug. 6, 1877, p.3, col.6; Rogers Free Library, *The Dedication of the . . . at Bristol, R.I., Jan. 12, 1878* (Providence, Rider, 1878), p.51.

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³² Rev. J. W. Wellman, "Free Public Library," *Bibliotheca Sacra*, XXVIII (1871), 229-30; American Library Association Publishing Board, *op. cit.*, p.10 (extract from James Russell Lowell); *Public Opinion*, III (Sept. 17, 1887), 493; South Weymouth, Mass. (Fogg Library), *op. cit.*, p.28.

³³ *Dedication Exercises of Wallace Library and Art Building . . . July 1, 1885* (Fitchburg, Mass., Blanchard and Brown, 1885), p.10-14, 23, 29; *Providence Daily Journal*, Jan. 14, 1878, p.2, "Dedication of Rogers Free Library, Bristol, R.I." (speech of Prof. J. Lewis Diman of Brown University).

³⁴ Thayer Library and Art Building, Keene, N.H., *op. cit.*, M.E. Curti, *Social Ideas of American Educators*, *op. cit.*, p.203-60.

³⁵ Thomas H. Russell, *op. cit.*, p.12.

³⁶ J. J. Ogle, *op. cit.*, p.52-3; Lewis H. Steiner, *Remarks on Library Branches in the Free Public Library of the City of Newark, N.J. Opening Exercises, Oct. 16, 1889*, (Newark, W. H. Shurts, 1889), p.25; Lewis Mumford, *The Golden Day, a Study in American Literature and Culture* (New York, Norton, 1926), p.240, 244. Mumford points to a suspicious correlation between the era of the muckrake and an increased number of philanthropic bequests. From 1890 to 1905, the sum of donations reported was sixty-four million dollars. See J. A. Rathbone, "Modern Library Movement," *Public Libraries*, XIII (1908), 197-201.

³⁷ (Editorial) *Social Economist*, IV (1893), 119-20.

³⁸ D. B. Lady, "Riches and Poverty," *Reformed Church Review*, ser. 4, I (1897), 358-72; Gustavus Myers, *History of Great American Fortunes*, (1907) (N.Y., Modern Library, 1936), p.149 (anent the Astor Library in New York City).

³⁹ "Perils of the Republic" (ed. note), *Reformed Church Review*, ser. 4, II (April 1898), 252-61; Jack London must also have had this idea in mind when he wrote (1907): "Question through the pages of every textbook written on the subject and stored on the shelves of your subsidized libraries . . ." *Iron Heel*, (N.Y., Macmillan, 1937), p.90.

⁴⁰ Manchester, N.H. City Library, *Thirteenth Annual Report, 1865*, p.84. The matter of book selection will be discussed in a later chapter.

⁴¹ "Libraries as Bureaus of Information," *Library Journal*, XXI (1896), 324-6.

⁴² A. L. Peck, "Workingmen's Clubs and the Public Library," *Library Journal*, XXIII (1898), 612-13.

⁴³ Gratia Countryman, "Shall Public Libraries Buy Foreign Literature for the Benefit of the Foreign Population?" *Library Journal*, XXIII (1898), 229; also, Hingham, Mass. Public Library, *Dedication*, *op. cit.*, p.10; Norton, Mass. Public Library, *Dedication*, *op. cit.*, p.49-50.

⁴⁴ Josephus Nelson Larned, "Retrospect and Prospect in the Last Years of the Century," *Library Journal*, XXI (1896), C.p.5-9; also, "Address of the President," *Library Journal*, XIX (1894), C.p.1-2.

⁴⁵ *Library Journal*, XIX (1894), 345; "Address of the President," *supra*; Buffalo, N.Y. Public Library, *The Record . . . op. cit.*, p.82.

⁴⁶ L. H. Steiner, "The Future of the Free Public Library," *Library Journal*, XV (1890), C.p.47.

⁴⁷ E.g., Lowell, Mass. City Library, *Reports, 1865*, p.6; John MacMullen, *A Lecture on the Past, the Present and the Future of the New York Society Library, Delivered Before the Shareholders, February 15, 1856* (N.Y., John F. Trow, 1856), p.18-19; "Have We a Lenox Among Us?" *Providence Daily Journal*, Feb. 3, 1870, p.2; H. Putnam, "The Public Library in the U.S.; Some Recent Phases and Tendencies," *International Monthly*, III (1901), 57; F. M. Crunden, *The Free Public Library, Its Uses and Values*, *op. cit.*, p.9-11, 18, 21; Thomas Greenwood, *Free Public Libraries*, *op. cit.*, p.395; *Public*

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Libraries in the U.S., (1876), *op. cit.*, p.404; a letter received by New York's \$200,000 mansioned A. T. Stewart describes the cultural pattern to which allusion has been made (Mary M. Sprout to A. T. Stewart, MS in N.Y. Public Library).

⁴⁸ *Hampshire Gazette*, Feb. 13, 1877, p.2, col.5; *ibid.*, March 20, 1877, p.2, col.4; *ibid.*, Feb. 22, 1881, p.2, col.2; William J. Hart (Editor of the *Newark Sunday Call*), *Ceremonies Attending the Cornerstone Laying . . . Free Public Library* (Newark, John E. Rowe, 1891), p.19-20; Lenox (Mass.) Library Association, *Dedication Exercises of the Charles Sedgewick Library and Reading Rooms, at Lenox, Mass.* (Pittsfield, Mass., W. H. Phillips, 1874), p.7.

⁴⁹ Edwin Leavitt Clarke, *American Men of Letters, Their Nature and Nurture*, Studies in History, Economics and Public Law no. 168 (N.Y., Columbia University Press, 1916).

⁵⁰ George S. Counts, *The Social Composition of Boards of Education*, Supplementary Educational Monographs no.33 (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1927).

⁵¹ Carleton Bruns Joeckel, *The Government of the American Public Library* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1935), p.235-47.

⁵² Of sixty-four individuals whose wealth could be estimated, thirty-eight were in the \$50,000-\$200,000 bracket, twenty above the limits of this group, and six below.

CHAPTER 9. BIG PHILANTHROPY

¹ *Life of Joseph Green Cogswell as Sketched in his Letters*, (Cambridge, Mass., Riverside Press, 1874), p.119, 133-7.

² *Ibid.*, p.213, 216-18. The flood of requests for donations to all kinds of causes made Astor change his donation to a legacy; also, Lydenberg, *op. cit.*, p.3-7.

³ Harvey O'Connor, *The Astors* (N.Y., Knopf, 1941), p.54-6, 83, 89; *Life of J. G. Cogswell*, *op. cit.*, p.233-4; Lydenberg, *op. cit.*, p.8-9.

⁴ Lydenberg, *op. cit.*, p.19-20, 31-6 (from the *Annual Report to the Trustees*, 1851, p.5-6).

⁵ Cogswell to Mrs. George Ticknor, March 28, 1824; to Mrs. Prescott, Dec. 13, 1835; to C. S. Daveis, Aug. 23, 1837; to Daveis, May 27, 1840 (*Life of Cogswell*, *op. cit.*, p.151, 203, 210-11, 223-4).

⁶ *Ibid.*, p.173, 176 (to Mrs. George Ticknor, March 4, 1832; to Mrs. George Ticknor, Sept. 16, 1832); Lydenberg, *op. cit.*, p.13, 24, 33 (to George Ticknor, Feb. 24, 1854).

⁷ *Life of Cogswell*, *op. cit.*, p.242, 263, 265, 269 (to G. Ticknor, Oct. 23, 1848; Jan. 18, 1854; March 2, 1854; Dec. 31, 1855).

⁸ George Livermore, "Remarks on Public Libraries," *North American Review*, LXXI (1850), 185-220; *Norton's Literary Gazette*, N.S. I (1854), 299.

⁹ Lydenberg, *op. cit.*, p.21-4 (*Evening Post*, Jan. 10, 1854; *Morning Courier*, Feb. 9, 1854).

¹⁰ Horace Mann, *A Few Thoughts for a Young Man: A Lecture Delivered Before the Boston Mercantile Library Association, on Its 29th Anniversary* (Boston, Ticknor, Reed, and Fields, 1850), p.64-5. This lecture, which contained such trenchant statements as "Vast fortunes are a misfortune to the State," and "Great wealth is a misfortune because it makes generosity impossible," mentioned Astor only incidentally. It nevertheless made occasion for a member of the Astor family to attack Mann's ideas on religion, science, capitalism, and the conflict between social classes; Charles Astor Bristed, *A Letter to the Hon. Horace Mann* (N.Y., Kernot, 1850).

¹¹ O'Connor, *op. cit.*, p.88; Cole, *op. cit.*, p.32; Meade Minnigerode, *Certain Rich Men . . .* (N.Y., Putnam, 1927), p.48-9.

¹² O'Connor, *op. cit.*, p.121, 160, 182-3, 233-4.

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¹³ *Life's* cartoon of Jan. 7, 1892 (reproduced in Lydenberg, *op. cit.*, p.60) epitomizes one public attitude. The legend in the cartoon reads: "This library open every other Monday from 9:58 A.M. to 10 A.M."

¹⁴ Frank H. Norton, "The Astor Library," *Galaxy*, VII (1869), 527-37; Frank H. Norton, "Ten Years in a Public Library," *Galaxy*, VIII (1869), 535.

¹⁵ Lydenberg, *op. cit.*, p.87, 94, 289; O'Connor, *op. cit.*, p.233-4.

¹⁶ Lydenberg, *op. cit.*, p.96, 99, 107-9; see also, Henry Stevens, *Recollections of Mr. James Lenox of New York and the Formation of His Library* (London, Henry Stevens, 1886). Stevens, Lenox's agent in Europe, was the American witness at the Parliamentary hearing on public libraries in 1849.

¹⁷ *Library Journal*, IX (1884), 60, 72-3; Lydenberg, *op. cit.*, p.113-16; satire from *Life*, Jan. 17, 1884.

¹⁸ Lydenberg, *op. cit.*, p.87 and *passim*; "New York's Great Need," *Critic*, V (Jan. 16, Apr. 17, 1886), 25, 189; XIII (Mar. 15, 1890), 136; XIX (1893), 147; *Public Opinion*, XXI (Dec. 8, 1896), 729; *Literary World*, XIII (Feb. 11, 1882), 40; "A Free Circulating Library," *Harpers Weekly*, XXIII (Aug. 9, 1879), 623; "Free Reading for Everybody," *ibid.*, XXVI (Feb. 4, 1882), 66; "A Free Circulating Library," *ibid.*, XXIX (Mar. 21, 1885), 179; "A Free Public Library," *ibid.*, XXX (Jan. 30, 1886), 67; "The Tilden Library," *ibid.*, XXX (Aug. 28, 1886), 547; "Libraries in New York," *ibid.*, XXXIV (Aug. 9, 1891), 614; "Boston's Library," *ibid.*, XXXIX (Mar. 2, 1895), 195; "The New York Public Library," *ibid.*, XXXIX (Mar. 23, 1895), 273-4.

¹⁹ Sidney Ditzion, "Social Reform, Education, and the Library," *Library Quarterly*, IX (1939), 162-4, 167, 174-5; *New York Daily Tribune*, Oct. 27, 1858, p. 5; *ibid.*, Jan. 21, 1882, p.5, col.3; *ibid.*, Feb. 5, 1882, p.6, col.2; Aguilar Free Library Society of the City of New York, *Annual Report, 1889*, p.5; *ibid.*, 1889-90, p.8; New York Free Circulating Library, *Annual Report, 1880*, p.16; *ibid.*, 1889, p.6; *New York Daily Tribune*, July 9, 1877, p.4, col.4; *ibid.*, Feb. 23, 1883, p.3, col.1; *ibid.*, Aug. 24, 1883, p.4, col.4; "Meeting in Favor of the New York Free Circulating Library," *Library Journal*, XV (1890), 106, 109.

²⁰ Burton J. Hendrick, *The Life of Andrew Carnegie* Vol. II (Garden City, N.Y., Doubleday, Doran, 1932), p.199-203; *The Standard Union* (Brooklyn), Jan. 15, 1897, p.5, col.4-7; Andrew Carnegie, *Address at Opening of Free Library, Cork* (Ireland), Oct. 21, 1903 (MS in Library of Congress).

²¹ *The Standard Union*, *supra*.

²² Carnegie, *Address at Cork*, *supra*; *ibid.*, "Individualism vs. Socialism," and "The Long March Upward," in *Problems of Today: Wealth—Labor—Socialism* (N.Y., Doubleday, Page, 1908), p.133-4, 173-81; *ibid.*, *Triumphant Democracy: or, Fifty Years' March of the Republic* (N.Y., Scribner's, 1886), *passim*.

²³ "A Plum for Edinburgh," *Saturday Review*, LXII (Sept. 11, 1886), 352.

²⁴ This idea was attributed to the *Saturday Review* by an editorial in the *S. Herald* (Edinburgh), Oct. 10, 1886 (dipping in Carnegie papers in Library of Congress).

²⁵ Carnegie, *Triumphant Democracy*, *op. cit.*, p.101; *The Gospel of Wealth, and Other Essays* (N.Y., Century, 1901), p.212.

²⁶ William M. Stevenson, "Carnegie and his Libraries," reprinted from the *Presbyterian Banner*, Aug. 10, 1899, p.1; Carnegie, Leicester (Scotland) address, May 8, 1905; Eastbourne speech, May 15, 1905; *The Gospel of Wealth*, p.305; *Address to Citizens of Ottawa After the Opening of the Library, April 30, 1906* (MS in Library of Congress); Hendrick, *op. cit.*, p.200; *Peterhead Free Library Demonstration, 8th August, 1891* (Peterhead, Scotland, David Scott, 1891), p.40.

²⁷ Hendrick, *op. cit.*, p.198-9.

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²⁸ Andrew Carnegie, *Empire of Business* (N.Y., Doubleday, Page, 1902), p.81-3.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, *Peterhead Free Library Demonstration*, 8th August, 1891, reprinted from *Peterhead Sentinel* (Peterhead, Scotland, David Scott, 1891), p.32-4.

³⁰ Carnegie, draft for speech at Jedburgh, Scotland, p. 13 (MS in Library of Congress); Ottawa speech, *loc. cit.*

³¹ *Ibid.*, speech at meeting of Mechanics and Tradesmen of the City of New York (in its *Annual Report*, 1905, p.15-16); Pittsburgh, Carnegie Library, *Presentation . . .* p. 8-26; Carnegie Public Library, Ayr, Scotland, *Address . . . on the Occasion of Laying the Memorial Stone*, 5th October, 1892 (printed by special request), p.23-6.

³² Carnegie, speech at Leicester, Scotland, May 8, 1905 (MS in Library of Congress); also Pittsburgh, Carnegie Library, *Presentation, op. cit.*, p.14, 20; Ottawa speech, *loc. cit.*; *Peterhead Free Library Demonstration*, p.37. That Carnegie felt a deeper obligation to his employees than he was repaying in the form of public libraries—there was an approximately even division of these between American steel towns and towns in Scotland before 1900—is revealed in a letter which he addressed to the President and managers of the Carnegie Company of Pittsburgh. This letter ordered that funds be set aside for pensions and expressed the hope that cordial relations between the employer and employed in Carnegie companies could continue (MS in Library of Congress).

³³ *Ibid.*, Ottawa speech, *op. cit.*, MS p.2-3; *Peterhead Free Library Demonstration*, p.34-6; *Empire of Business, op. cit.*, p.87; *Autobiography of Andrew Carnegie* (Boston, Houghton, Mifflin, 1920), p.24-242; alternate draft for speech at Jedburgh, Scotland, MS p.13; Eastborne (England) speech, May 15, 1905 (MS in Library of Congress); also reported in *Eastborne Gazette*, May 17, 1905.

³⁴ Carnegie, Jedburgh speech of Oct. 1894; also another draft which, by its similarity to the foregoing one, seems to have been in preparation for the same occasion (MS in Library of Congress); *Johnstown Democrat*, Jan. 22, 1897 (clipping in Library of Congress collection); *Commercial Gazette*, Jan. 22, 1897 (clipping in scrapbook at Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh).

³⁵ James Quayley (general superintendent at Braddock works) to Andrew Carnegie, Oct. 26, 1893; *Same*, Jan. 11, 1895, and Jan. 24, 1892; Resolution of Trustees of the Library at Bessemer, Pa., March 30, 1892; clipping from *Northern Echo*, Oct. 16, 188—(in Carnegie papers at Library of Congress).

³⁶ Carnegie, Homestead address, Nov. 5, 1898 (fully reported in the *Press* and other Pittsburgh papers on the day following).

³⁷ *Ibid.*, "The Best Fields for Philanthropy," *North American Review*, CXLIX (Dec. 1889), 160.

³⁸ Andrew Carnegie, *Gospel of Wealth and Other Essays* (N.Y., Century, 1901); Pittsburgh, Carnegie Library, *Presentation . . . loc. cit.*; *Carnegie Anthology*; arranged by M. B. Watson (N.Y., privately printed, 1915), p.33, 160 (extracts from *An American Four-in-Hand in Britain* and *An Address Delivered on the Opening of the New Engineering Building of the University of Edinburgh*); "Mr. Carnegie on Riches," *Pittsburgh Daily News*, Jan. 15, 1897 (report from an address before a Brooklyn audience); Carnegie's penciled correction of a drafted inscription for the Pittsburgh library is of possible significance in studying the extent to which the philanthropist sought ideas which would meet with public approval. A first draft read: "The gift of one who loves Pittsburgh well and believes surplus wealth a sacred trust to be used for the genuine good of the community from which it was gathered." A correction changed the last phrase to "genuine good of his fellow men" (Carnegie to C. N. Frew, Oct. 1, 1894).

³⁹ *Autobiography of Andrew Carnegie* (N.Y., Doubleday, Doran, 1933), p.45 (dedication of Allegheny Library to Colonel James Anderson, Founder of Free Libraries in Western

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Pennsylvania); W. M. Stevenson, *Carnegie and His Libraries*, reprinted from *Presbyterian Banner*, August 10, 1899, p.2; The Anderson Library Institute was created in 1850 and lost its identity in 1862. Two letters dated May 9th, and 17th, 1853, attributed to Carnegie by the writer of a note to Andrew Carnegie (Oct. 24, 1912) and supposedly having appeared in the *Pittsburgh Dispatch* in 1853, complain that the trustees of the Anderson Library had excluded from membership "any boy who is not learning a trade and bound for a stated time."

⁴⁰ *Pittsburgh Dispatch*, Nov. 24, 1881, p.2, col.1; same date, p.3, col.1 (editorial); Nov. 25, 1881, p.4, col.1-2; Hendrick, *op. cit.*, p.200.

⁴¹ *Pittsburgh Dispatch*, Feb. 7, 1890, p.1, col.1-2; *ibid.*, May 7, 1890, p.2, col.1-2; *Pittsburgh Press*, Feb. 11, 1890, p.4, col.1; *ibid.*, April 15, 1890, p.4, col.2; *ibid.*, May 7, 1890, p.4, col.1.

⁴² Unidentified clipping, dated Oct. 28, 1895 (Carnegie papers, Library of Congress).

⁴³ *Pittsburgh Leader*, March 6, 1896 (scrapbook in Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh).

⁴⁴ *Pittsburgh Post*, *Pittsburgh Dispatch*, *Pittsburgh Leader*, of April 9, 1896; *Pittsburgh Leader*, *Pittsburgh Dispatch*, *Pittsburgh Press*, of April 10, 1896; *Pittsburgh Leader*, April 20, 1896; *Times*, *Daily News*, *Post Dispatch*, of April 21, 1896 (scrapbook).

⁴⁵ See Pittsburgh papers for Sept. 13, 14, 15, 16, 1899 (scrapbook).

⁴⁶ *Carnegie Anthology*, *op. cit.*, p.5 (quoted from *An American Four-in-Hand in Britain*).

⁴⁷ Dr. Elias Lester to Andrew Carnegie, Nov. 14, 1891.

⁴⁸ Frances J. (Mrs. Willis A. Barnes) to Andrew Carnegie, Dec. 22, 1891.

⁴⁹ Bishop Wm. Creswell Doane to Andrew Carnegie, Albany, N.Y., Feb. 19, 1892.

⁵⁰ Arthur V. Spooner, Pastor of Second Presbyterian Church, Altoona, Pa., to Andrew Carnegie, March 8, 1892.

⁵¹ P. Charles to Andrew Carnegie, April 4, 1892.

⁵² Morris W. Mead to Andrew Carnegie, Feb. 28, 1893.

⁵³ W. H. Rhule to Andrew Carnegie, April 18, 1893.

⁵⁴ Nathan Meyer to Andrew Carnegie, Oct. 16, 1893.

⁵⁵ W. A. Mackenzie to Andrew Carnegie, July 23, 1894.

⁵⁶ M. Cohen to Andrew Carnegie, March 20, 1892. For other citations, see letters of Alex Galloway, Sept. 28, 1894, in behalf of Indianapolis Caledonian Quoting Club; Edward T. Devine, Nov. 13, 1895, for American Society for the Extension of University Teaching; William A. Clark, Feb. 3, 1893, for Memorial Hall of Union Veteran Legion, Butler, Pa.; H. E. Collins to Andrew Carnegie, April 11, 1895, suggests that kindergarten and other school rooms in Pittsburgh be given small libraries of 100 or 200 books for evening use of boys and young men; Addison C. Rand to Andrew Carnegie, Jan. 5, 1896, suggests contribution for Engineering Societies Library—asserts that engineers need libraries as much as lawyers but are not generally rich enough to own them; also clippings from (Uniontown, Pa.) *Daily News Standard*, April 25, 1899, (Connelville, Pa.) *Courier*, April 28, 1899, and (Pittsburgh) *Times*, April 28, 1899, concerning library service to the great Carnegie-dominated coke area around Uniontown, Connelville, New Haven and Dunbar.

⁵⁷ Walter S. Loyd to Andrew Carnegie (at Skibo Castle), March 19, 1910; extract from the *Belfast News-Letter*, May 5, 1910; *Commercial Gazette* (Pittsburgh), Nov. 4, 1895; Herbert B. Adams, *Public Libraries and Popular Education*, New York State University, Home Education Bulletin no.31; Dr. Madison C. Peters (Baptist), "Andrew Carnegie, Friend of the Poor," *New York Herald*, March 25, 1901. Among the librarians who have undertaken to answer critics, outstanding are Theodore Wesley Koch, *Carnegie Libraries* (n.p., 1905), p.347; same author, *A Book of Carnegie Libraries* (N.Y., Wilson, 1907),

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passim; and Charles Clarence Williamson, *Andrew Carnegie, His Contribution to the Public Library Movement; Founder's Day Address Delivered at the Library School, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, June 15, 1920.*

⁵⁸ *National Labor Tribune*, July 30, 1892.

⁵⁹ Lauchlan Morrison to Andrew Carnegie, Ayr, Scotland, August 15, 1892, re: conferring of Freedom of Ayr. "I think you will have a royal welcome to auld Ayr. As to the Trades Council in Glasgow sending instructions here as to what they call a Demonstration against you . . . Will be treated with contempt it deserves at the hands of Honest men."

⁶⁰ *Commoner and Glassworker* (Pittsburgh), Sept. 10, 1892, p.1, col.1-2; *ibid.*, Sept. 17, 1892, p.1, col.1-2; *Pittsburgh Dispatch*, Sept. 11, 1892, p.2, col.6; *Pittsburgh Press*, Sept. 11, 1892, col.2.

⁶¹ Unidentified clipping, dated Dec. 18, 1892, containing Carnegie's reply to a resolution of the Pittsburgh Art Society in favor of accepting the gift as opposed to the stand taken by labor organizations (Carnegie papers, Library of Congress).

⁶² Oelwein, Iowa (in *Iowa Library Commission Quarterly*, III (April 1903), 32). In the controversy over Sunday concerts, worker interests met Carnegie on common ground, the latter bearing the brunt of attacks from the clergy . . . *Pittsburgh Leader*, Oct. 1, 1896, Dec. 7, 1896. *Pittsburgh Post*, Nov. 26, 1896; also in several other papers on Dec. 2, 1896 (clippings in scrapbook at Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh). Another indication of labor's more "normal" attitude toward this philanthropist is found in the *National Labor Tribune's* (June 3, 1897, p.2, col.4) unemotional reporting on Carnegie events.

⁶³ *Iowa Library Commission Quarterly*, *op. cit.* (quoted from Gompers' letter to a union in Toronto, Canada, which had asked to be advised as to what its attitude should be on a Carnegie gift).

⁶⁴ *National Labor Tribune*, Nov. 11, 1897, p.2, col.3 (caption: *Our "Free" Library—Some Observations as to the Benefit Derived From It—Fine Clothes and Carnegie Come First, the "Common" People Last*); *ibid.*, cols.4-5 (caption: *Indigent Populace—Masses Object to Being Invited to a Feast and Then Snubbed*).

⁶⁵ Rev. D. B. Lady, "Riches and Poverty," *Reformed Church Review*, ser. 4, I (July 1897), 358-72; *Gunton's Magazine*, XVIII (June 1900), 547.

⁶⁶ Pillsbury; *the Town and the Library* (Boston, Stetson, 1909), p.6-11.

⁶⁷ Eugene V. Debs, "Crimes of Carnegie" (letter), *The People*, April 7, 1901.

⁶⁸ Thomas H. Chapman, *The Worship of Mammon is the Curse and Peril of Our Country. Let Us Unite for Its Overthrow—Andrew Carnegie, Given the Power to See Himself as Others See Him* (Pittsburgh, The Tribune of the People, 1900).

⁶⁹ E.g., the following clippings included in the New York Public Library's scrapbook of "Newspaper Clippings Relating to Mr. Carnegie's Gift of \$5,200,000 for Building Circulating Libraries in New York City, 1901"; "No Remedy" (editorial), *Vincennes Sun*, March 15, 1901; *New Orleans Democrat*, March 17, 1901; *New York Journal*, March 27, 1901; "Carnegie Gifts Criticised" (address of the Reverend Percy Stickney Grant to the graduating class of the College of the City of New York) reported in the *New York Tribune*, June 17, 1901, and the *New York Times*, June 18, 1901.

⁷⁰ Samuel L. Clemens, *Mark Twain in Eruption; Hitherto Unpublished Pages About Men and Events* . . . (N.Y., Harper, 1940), p.35-60; Finley Peter Dunne, "Carnegie Libraries," *Ohio State Journal*, Jan. 18, 1903; "Mr. Carnegie's Gift," in *Mr. Dooley at His Best*, ed. by Elmer Ellis (N.Y., Scribner, 1938), p.200-23; for the quoted remark, "Ivory time he give a libry he gives himself away in a speech," see Elmer Ellis, *Mr. Dooley's America, a Life of Finley Peter Dunne* (N.Y., Knopf, 1941), p.306.

⁷¹ E.g., clipping from *Indianapolis Press*, March 16, 1901, on Mr. Carnegie's retirement.

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⁷² *Pittsburgh Post*, Sept. 20, 1896.

⁷³ John Emery to Andrew Carnegie, Aug. 23, 1894; O. Phillips Turner to Andrew Carnegie, Sept. 5, 1894 (on the subject of employing librarians); Andrew Carnegie to W. N. Frew, May 13, 1906.

⁷⁴ James Truslow Adams, *The Epic of America* (Boston, Little, Brown, 1931), p.345.

CHAPTER 10. BOOKMEN, LIBRARIANS, AND FREE BOOKS

¹ *Norton's Literary Advertiser*, I (1851), 7; *Norton's Literary Gazette*, II (1852), 169, 172, 188, 214; *ibid.*, N.S. I (1854), 61, 143.

² "On Bibliothecology: No. 1—Duties of a Librarian," *Norton's Literary Advertiser*, I (1851), 6; "On Bibliothecology: No. 2—Bibliography," *ibid.*, p.30; "Hints Upon Library Buildings," *ibid.*, III (1853), 1.

³ "Librarians' Convention," *Norton's Literary Gazette*, II (1852), 128; *ibid.*, p.169, 236; *Norton's Literary and Educational Register*, 1854, p.49-94. The Charles B. Norton publishing firm was an agent for libraries.

⁴ "The Astor Library," *Norton's Literary Gazette*, N.S. I (1854), 299.

⁵ "Boston Free Library," *ibid.*, II (1852), 188.

⁶ *Publishers' Weekly*, X (1876), 132, 629; XII (1877), 159; XVII (1880), 80; XXI (1882), 81; Arthur E. Bostwick, *A Life With Men and Books* (N.Y., Wilson, 1939), p.148-9.

⁷ *American Library Journal*, I (1877), 321-2; *Library Chronicle*, III (1886), 194; W. E. Pennington's *Papers on Glasgow Libraries*, *op. cit.*; J. J. Ogle, *op. cit.*, p.92.

⁸ *American Library Journal*, I (1876), 135-7; *ibid.*, II (1877), 26.

⁹ Gardner M. Jones, "The Librarians' Convention of 1853," *Library Journal*, XXVII (1902), p.254-6; also MS correspondence used in preparing above article (Library of Congress).

¹⁰ *Proceedings of the Librarians' Convention, 1853*, . . . *op. cit.*

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p.36-7.

¹² J. W. Wallace, *An Address of Welcome* . . . *op. cit.*, p.3-4; also *Library Journal*, I (1876), 92.

¹³ Melvil Dewey, "The Profession," *American Library Journal*, I (1876), 5-6; Justin Winsor, "Free Libraries and Readers," *American Library Journal*, I (1876), 63-7.

¹⁴ *Library Journal*, I (1876), 90; IV (1879), 153; VII (1882), 27; XII (1887), 182; XVI (1891), 167, 263; XIX (1894), 159, 328; XXII (1897), 243; XXIII (1898), 183.

¹⁵ E.g., A. M. Pendleton, "How to Start Libraries in Small Towns," *American Library Journal*, I (1877), 161-2, 213-16, 249-50; "A.L.A. Primer," *Public Libraries*, I (1896), 4-10; A.L.A. Publishing Board, *Why Do We Need a Public Library*, *op. cit.*; Chalmers Hadley, *A.L.A. Material for a Public Library Campaign*, *op. cit.*

¹⁶ *Library Journal*, I (1876), 12; X (1885), 99; XIV (1889), 75.

¹⁷ *Library Journal*, I (1877), 221; IX (1884), 3; XX (1895), 3; XXI (1896), 263.

¹⁸ *Library Journal*, I (1877), 395, 401, 409-10.

¹⁹ *Library Journal*, X (1885), 71; XIII (1888), 132.

²⁰ Three extremely valuable studies along these lines are Frank Kingdon's *John Cotton Dana: A Life* (Newark, The Public Library Museum, 1940); Linda A. Eastman's *Portrait of a Librarian: William Howard Brett* (Chicago, American Library Association, 1940); and Fremont Rider's *Melvil Dewey* (Chicago, American Library Association, 1944). The writer has attempted a study along these lines in his "*Social Ideas of a Library Pioneer: Josephus Nelson Larned*," *loc. cit.*; also, George B. Utley, "Theodore Roosevelt's The

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Winning of the West; Some Unpublished Letters, in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXX (1944), 495-506 (William Frederick Poole).

²¹ William F. Poole, "Some Popular Objections to Public Libraries," *Library Journal*, I (1876), 45-51; Justin Winsor, "Free Libraries and Readers," *Library Journal*, I (1876), 63-67; Boston Public Library, *Twenty-second Annual Report, 1874*, p.27-8; C. A. Cutter, "The Development of Public Libraries," U.S. Commissioner of Education, *Report, 1899-1900*, p.1352-9.

²² Lydenberg, *op. cit.*, p.116; Charles Ammi Cutter to R. R. Bowker, 2 March, 1894 (MS in N.Y. Public Library).

²³ George Grosvenor Dawe, *Melvil Dewey, Seer: Inspirer: Doer, 1851-1931 . . .* Lake Placid Club (N.Y., Forest Press, 1932), *passim*.

²⁴ Augusta H. Leyboldt to R. R. Bowker, Sept. 18, 1880 (MS in New York Public Library).

²⁵ Fremont Rider, *op. cit.*, p.46, 55, 78-82.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p.104-6; New York (State) Education Department, *Second Annual Report, 1905*, p.480-4.

²⁷ In April 1937 the author, having made a preliminary survey of social backgrounds of the public library movement in America, sent a circular letter of general inquiry to some hundred librarians who were employed in the profession before 1900. In order to provide a core around which replies might be framed the following possible motivating circumstances were listed:

1. Influence of organizations, e.g., women's clubs; reading associations; working-men's clubs and organizations.
2. Motivations of philanthropy and humanitarianism, such as prevention of crime; raising the level of the lower classes; keeping people from bad influences (drinking, billiard parlors, etc.); means of evening amusement for hard-working people.
3. Vocational advancement and improvement of skill.
4. Movement of population to cities.
5. Library's value to commerce and business as a source of information.
6. The library as a democratic manifestation.

It is in full realization of the very limited value of such personal observations—many years removed from the events which they describe—that the author presents a summary of the few replies which contribute to this treatment. Of more than fifty replies received, only a dozen or so are used.

²⁸ Letters to the author from E. Kathleen Jones (May 14, 1937); Arthur S. McDaniel (April 28, 1937); Hiller C. Wellman (April 29, 1937); Frank Grant Lewis (April 26, 1937).

²⁹ Letters from George Watson Cole (May 4, 1937); H. L. Koopman (May 1937).

³⁰ E. Kathleen Jones (May 14, 1937); Clara F. Baldwin (May 7, 1937); Mary W. McNair (April 25, 1937); Edna D. Bullock (May 4, 1937) (this letter speaks also of temperance activities as possibly connected with the library movement); Purd B. Wright (May 3, 1937 and June 15, 1937). (These letters are emphatic in their insistence that the movement in Missouri, Kansas, Iowa, and Nebraska was the work of women's clubs.

³¹ Arthur E. Bostwick (April 26, 1937); Euphemia K. Corwin (April 30, 1937).

³² Frederick Rex (May 25, 1937).

³³ H. L. Koopman (May 1937).

³⁴ May Ashley (April 27, 1937); George F. Bowerman (April 27, 1937); Arthur S. McDaniel (April 28, 1937).

³⁵ Florence R. Curtis (April 26, 1937); E. Kathleen Jones (May 14, 1937); May Ashley (April 23, 1937).

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³⁶ O. R. Howard Thomson (April 28, 1937); Katherine Patten (April 30, 1937); Hiller C. Wellman (April 29, 1937); Clara F. Baldwin (May 7, 1937).

³⁷ James M. Hubbard, "Are Public Libraries Public Blessings?" *Library Journal*, XIV (1889), 407.

³⁸ William I. Fletcher, "The Public Library Movement," *Cosmopolitan*, XVIII (1894), 103-4.

CHAPTER 11. SERVICE TO MEET READERS' NEEDS

¹ *Hampshire Gazette*, Oct. 13, 1885, p.2, col.6; [on location of free library, unidentified article in Quincy Documents, Boston Public Library]; *Pittsburgh Press*, Feb. 13, 1890, p.1, col.7; *ibid.*, Feb. 17, 1890, p.4, col.4; *ibid.*, Feb. 20, 1890; p.2, col.3; *ibid.*, May 8, 1890, p.4, col.1; *ibid.*, May 10, 1890, p.4, col.1; also, Gertrude Gilbert Drury, compiler, *The Library and Its Home . . .* (N.Y., Wilson, 1933), p.123-31, 236 "Classics of American Librarianship," Vol.9.

² E.g., Lowell City Library, *Reports*, 1865, p.6; *ibid.*, 1867, p.4-5; *ibid.*, 1868, p.5-6; "Inaugural Address of his Honor George F. Richardson, Mayor . . . Jan. 7, 1867," in *Lowell, Mass. City Documents, 1866-67* (Lowell, Stone and Huse, 1867), p.10; *Providence Public Library, Eighteenth Report, 1895*, p.5-7; *Library Journal*, I (1877), 303 (note on Worcester, Mass. Public Library); Boston Public Library, *Twenty-third Annual Report, 1875*, p.8.

³ Lewis H. Steiner (remarks on library branches), in Newark, N.J. Free Public Library, *Opening Exercises Held in the Halsey Street Methodist Episcopal Church . . . Oct. 16, 1889* (Newark, W. H. Shurts, 1890), p.24-5; *Address at the Cornerstone Laying of the First Carnegie Branch (Williamsburg) of the Brooklyn Public Library, Nov. 28, 1903* (Brooklyn, 1903), p.(5).

⁴ Boston Public Library, *Twenty-fifth Annual Report, 1877*, p.30.

⁵ *ibid.*, *Twenty-fourth Annual Report, 1876*, p.16-18; *Twenty-fifth Annual Report, 1877*, p.29; *Thirty-eighth Annual Report, 1889*, p.8-9; *Library Journal*, I (1876), 125-6; *ibid.*, I (1877), 288-9; *ibid.*, V (1880), 311; *ibid.*, XVII (1892), 480-2; *ibid.*, XVIII (1893), 82.

⁶ New York Free Circulating Library, *Second Annual Report, 1880-81*, p.7; *Fourth Annual Report, 1883*, p.3-6; *Eighth Annual Report, 1887*, p.5; Lydenberg. *op. cit.*, 205, 213 and *passim*.

⁷ "Meeting in Favor of the New York Free Circulating Library," *Library Journal*, XV (1890), 106.

⁸ "Station House Libraries," *New York Tribune*, Feb. 5, 1882, p.6, col.2; "Letter to the Editor," *ibid.*, Feb. 4, 1882.

⁹ Chicago Public Library, *Twelfth Annual Report, 1884*, p.8; *Ibid.*, *Fifteenth Annual Report, 1887*, p.23; *Library Journal*, XV (1890), 314 (Pittsburgh); "Banquet to Carnegies," *Pittsburgh Times*, Nov. 9, 1896; Philadelphia Free Library, *Seventh Annual Report, 1902*, p.17.

¹¹ E.g., Boston Public Library, *Forty-fourth Annual Report, 1895*, p.44.

¹² Ogle, *op. cit.*, p.8-9.

¹² Ogle, *op. cit.*, p.8-9.

¹³ *Library Journal*, I (1877), 441; Frank A. Hutchins, *Traveling Libraries* (Boston, published for the American Library Association by Houghton, Mifflin, 1899), p.1-2.

¹⁴ "North Wisconsin Traveling Library Association," *Library Journal*, XXIII (1898), 156; *ibid.*, p.239; Gratia Countryman, "Lines of Work Which a State Library Commission Can Profitably Undertake," *Library Journal*, XXV (1900), 54.

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¹⁵ *Library Journal*, XXI (1896), 410; Lydenberg, *op. cit.*, p.227; Buffalo Public Library, *Record of Organization*, *op. cit.*, p.64.

¹⁶ Josiah H. Whittier to J. L. Harrison, Jan. 19, 1896 (MS in New York State Library).

¹⁷ Boston Public Library, *Thirty-sixth Annual Report*, 1887, p.17; see articles on "Access to Shelves" reprinted in Laura M. Janzow, comp., *The Library Without the Walls*, "Classics of American Librarianship," Vol.6 (N.Y., Wilson, 1927), p.151-248.

¹⁸ *Library Journal*, XIX (1894), 162.

¹⁹ W. H. Brett, "The Open Library," *Library Journal*, XVII (1892), 445-6; C. C. Soule, "The Boston Public Library," *ibid.*, p.88-93.

²⁰ Boston Public Library, *Twenty-third Annual Report*, 1875, p.9, 12; *ibid.*, *Twenty-fourth Annual Report*, 1876, p.6.

²¹ *Christian Examiner*, LXXI (1861), 454-7 (on the Index to the Catalogue of Books in the Upper Hall of the Public Library of the City of Boston); Boston Public Library, *Eleventh Annual Report*, 1863, p.11; *Fifteenth Annual Report*, 1867, p.36-7; *Sixteenth Annual Report*, 1868, p.20-1; *Seventeenth Annual Report*, 1869, p.20; *Eighteenth Annual Report*, 1870, p.8; *Twenty-third Annual Report*, 1875, p.30-1; *Twenty-fifth Annual Report*, 1877, p.40-4; *Twenty-sixth Annual Report*, 1878, p.17; *Twenty-ninth Annual Report*, 1881, p.23-4; *Thirty-second Annual Report*, 1884, p.15; *Fortieth Annual Report*, 1891, p.15-17; Willis K. Stetson, "Economic, Educational, Select Catalogs for Public Libraries," *Library Journal*, XVI (1891), C.p.26-7.

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²³ Boston Public Library, *Thirty-second Annual Report*, 1884, p.15.

²⁴ Providence Public Library, *Twenty-first Report*, 1898, p.7.

²⁵ L. E. Stearns, "The Librarian, Assistants, and the Public," *Library Journal*, XXI (1896), 489-92.

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²⁷ "New York Libraries and the Workmen," *Library Journal*, XV (1890), 236.

²⁸ Norton, *op. cit.*, *Galaxy*, VII (1869), 537; *Critic*, XVI (1891), 290; (Editorial Crucible), *Social Economist*, III (1892), 375; *Harpers Weekly*, II (1858), 627; Melvil Dewey, "Library Hours," *Library Journal*, IV (1829), 449.

²⁹ Boston Public Library, *Sixteenth Annual Report*, 1868, p.23.

³⁰ Chicago Public Library, *First Annual Report*, 1873, p.25; *ibid.*, *Fifth Annual Report*, 1877, p.28-9; *Library Journal*, XXI (1896), 35; (Manchester, N.H. Public Library); *ibid.*, p.77 (Lloyd's Neck, Long Island, Library); Concord, N.H., *Dedication of the Fowler Library Building*, *op. cit.*, p.83.

³¹ Much of the newspaper and pamphlet material used in this summary treatment of the Sunday question is to be found in a clipping-book which was collected by the Boston Public Library from 1865 to 1873. Many other newspaper items, magazine articles, pamphlets, manuscripts, and official reports of the city of Boston were also read for the study of this question.

³² *Library Journal*, II (1877), 274-5; V (1880), 265-6; X (1885), 405; XII (1887), 230; XIV (1889), 176-90, C.p.279; XVII (1892), C.p.45-6; XVIII (1893), 431, C.p.44-6; U.S. Commissioner of Education, *Report*, 1892-93, p.771-94, 941.

³³ *Library Journal*, III (1878), 258-9; IV (1879), 420.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, I (1876), 443-4.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, XIV (1889), C.p.280-1.

³⁶ Boston Public Library, *Preliminary Report*, 1852, *passim*.

³⁷ E.g., New Bedford Free Public Library, *Fourth Annual Report*, 1856, p.6-8; *ibid.*, *Seventh Annual Report*, 1859, p.6; *Eighth Annual Report*, Dec. 1859, p.7-9; *Twentieth*

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³⁸ Boston Public Library, *Sixteenth Annual Report, 1868*, p.16; Lowell, Mass. City Library, *Report, 1874*, p.5; Providence Public Library, *Exercises at the Opening of the New Building, March 15, 1900 . . .* (Providence, Snow and Farnham, 1901), p.25; Gratia Countryman, "Shall Public Libraries Buy Foreign Literature for the Benefit of the Foreign Population?" *Library Journal*, XXIII (1898), 229.

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⁴⁰ Boston Public Library, *Annual Report, 1852*, p.17; *ibid.*, 1875, p.18; C. C. Soule, "The Boston Public Library," *Library Journal*, XVII (1892), 91; Worcester Free Public Library, *Second Annual Report, 1861*, p.7; Lowell, Mass. City Library, *Annual Report, 1886*, p.12.

⁴¹ New York Free Circulating Library, *First Report, 1880*, p.20; *Critic*, VII (1887), 90 (quoted from *Seventh Report* of New York Free Circulating Library); Lowell, Mass. City Library, *Annual Report, 1881*, p.9; Charles H. Compton, *Fifty Years of Progress of the St. Louis Public Library, St. Louis, Mo.* (St. Louis Public Library, 1926), p.42 (from "What People Read," an interview in the *St. Louis Post Dispatch* for April 15, 1888); *Library Journal*, XV (1890), 280.

⁴² *Library Journal*, XXI (1896), 234 and note.

⁴³ Boston Public Library, *Preliminary Report, 1852*, p.17; *Nineteenth Annual Report, 1871*, p.30-3; *Twenty-sixth Annual Report, 1878*, p.7; *Twenty-ninth Annual Report, 1881*, p.9-10, 18-19; *Fiftieth Annual Report, 1901-2*, p.32; Boston Public Library, South Boston Branch, *Proceedings at the Dedication . . . op. cit.*, p.6-10, 19; Boston Public Library, Jamaica Plains Branch, *op. cit.*, p.21; New Bedford, Mass. Public Library, *Fourth Annual Report, 1856*, p.8; *Thirteenth Annual Report, 1865*, p.19-20; Lowell City Library, *First Annual Report, 1878-9*, p.5; *Seventeenth Annual Report, p.5; Library Journal*, I (1876-77), 96-100, 283, 298, 449; for a list of articles on the subject of "fiction in public libraries," see H. G. T. Cannon, *Bibliography of Library Economy . . .* (Chicago, American Library Association, 1927), p.417; Newton Free Library, *op. cit.*, p.29; Lydenberg, *op. cit.*, p.205 (New York Free Circulating Library); *Critic*, X (1888), 131 (statistics on fiction borrowing quoted from the *Boston Herald*); "Literature for the Young," *American Unitarian Association, Monthly Journal*, X (1869), 382.

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⁴⁵ William J. Rhees, *op. cit.*, p.260; S. S. Green, "Sensational Fiction in Libraries," *Library Journal*, IV (1879), 345-55; "Fiction in Libraries," *Library Journal*, XV (1890), 261.

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⁴⁹ *Critic and Good Literature*, II (1884), 91.

⁵⁰ O. H. Kile, *Address Delivered Before the Pawcatuck Library Association . . .*, *op. cit.*, p.5-8; South Weymouth, Mass., *Dedication of the Fogg Library*, *op. cit.*, p.29-30; Boston Public Library, Roxbury Branch, *op. cit.*, p.16; Fitchburg, Mass., *Wallace Library and Art Building*, *op. cit.*, p.27.

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⁵⁷ Charles P. Greenough Clipping Collection, p.14 (Boston Public Library).

⁵⁸ The occasion was a hearing in the French Senate on a petition presented by two hundred citizens of St. Etienne. The basis of the complaint and rider to the petition was a detailed list of objectionable authors represented in the library at St. Etienne. Charles Augustin Sainte-Beuve, *A Propos de Bibliothèques Populaires: Discours . . . Prononce Dans la Seance du Senat le 25 Juin 1867* (Paris, Michel Levy, 1867).

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⁶⁴ Stephen A. McCarthy, *America in the Eighteen-Eighties; a Bibliographical Study
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